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THE  
TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS,  
AND  
THE DEMI.

VOL. II.  
THE DEMI OF ATTICA.



THE  
DEMI OF ATTICA.

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SECOND EDITION.

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BY  
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## CONTENTS.

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### SECTION I.

	PAGE
<u>Geography of Attica.—Natural Divisions,—Mountains, Plains, Rivers.—Political Divisions,—Tribes, Districts, Demi.—The Twelve Ionic Townships . . . . .</u>	<u>1</u>

### SECTION II.

<u>The Demi of the plain of Athens . . . . .</u>	<u>31</u>
--	-----------

### SECTION III.

<u>The Demi of Paralia and Mesogæa . . . . .</u>	<u>50</u>
--	-----------

### SECTION IV.

<u>The Demi of Diacria and Mount Parnes . . . . .</u>	<u>77</u>
---	-----------

### SECTION V.

<u>The Demi to the Westward of the Plain of Athens including Salamis . . . . .</u>	<u>134</u>
--	------------

SECTION VI.

<u>Catalogue of the Demi . . . . .</u>	<u>177</u>
--	------------

APPENDIX.

<u>I. The Battle of Marathon . . . . .</u>	<u>203</u>
<u>II. The Battle of Salamis . . . . .</u>	<u>228</u>
<u>ADDENDA . . . . .</u>	<u>273</u>
<u>INDEX . . . . .</u>	<u>277</u>

ERRATA.

Page 151. *Dele* "Oa, or" and "OH." It will appear from the Catalogue that OH and OIH were different demi.

Page 191, lin. penult. *Dele* the asterisk before ΠΕΡΤΑΣΗΘΕΝ.



THE  
DEMI OF ATTICA.

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SECTION I.

*Geography of Attica.—Natural Divisions,—Mountains, Plains, Rivers.—Political Divisions,—Tribes, Districts, Demi.—The Twelve Ionic Townships.*

ATTICA derives its name from the word ἀκτὴ, as being the projecting peninsula of that part of Greece which lies to the north of the isthmus of Corinth, in the same manner as the Argolic projection was the acte of the Peloponnesus, and the peninsula of Mount Athos the acte of Thrace.

To the westward the peninsula of Attica is connected with another, which extended to the Corinthia; and they are both covered to the north by a range of lofty mountains, which stretch from the Corinthian Gulf to the channel of Eubœa, and which, on the northern side, slope into the

plains of Bœotia. Attica was thus strongly marked by nature for one of the most important of those small states into which, by its geographical construction, all the southern part of Greece was divided.

Cithæron,  
Parnes.

The two chief summits of the Attico-Bœotian range were called Cithæron and Parnes. From the southern side of the former branched the peninsula of the Eleutheris and Megaris, or that broad mountainous neck of land which connects continental Greece with the Peloponnesus, and the lowest and narrowest part of which, at the south-eastern extremity towards Corinth, was anciently called the Isthmus [ὁ Ἴσθμός]. Parnes, like Cithæron, throws out lower branches, which extend to the channel of Eubœa and the bay of Marathon. Within the frontier barriers of Attica are four remarkable mountains. Two of these, the length of which is nearly in a north and south direction, divide Attica into three great valleys; the plain of Eleusis or Thria to the west, the Πεδίον or plain of Athens in the middle, and to the eastward the country now called Mesôghia (the ancient Mesogæa), which is separated from the sea by low ridges, and becomes blended with the plain of Athens at the northern extremity of Hymettus, which mountain in every other part forms the separation of these two districts. The mountain which lies between the plains of Athens and Eleusis was named Ægaleos<sup>1</sup>.

Hymettus.

Ægaleos.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8. 90. Thucyd. 2, 19. From the former of these passages, it is clear that the southern extremity was named Ægaleos; from the latter, that the whole ridge, as far at least as the pass of Dhafni, was known by that name.



The two other remarkable summits are Penteli-<sup>Penteli-</sup>  
cum, which rises from the eastern coast of Attica,<sup>cum.</sup>  
and is connected with the south-eastern extremity  
of Parnes; and a cluster of heights at the south-<sup>Laurium.</sup>  
eastern extremity of Attica, of which the most dis-  
tant from Athens and the most celebrated was Lau-  
rium, noted for its silver mines.

A remarkable break in the Hymettian range<sup>Anhydros.</sup>  
divided the northern, or greater, from the southern  
or lesser Hymettus, which was also called Anhydros,  
from its want of water<sup>1</sup>. The greater Hymettus is  
now known by the name of Telo-Vuni, and Anhy-  
drus by that of Mavro-Vuni; though the former  
name is often applied to the whole range. The  
maritime part of the ridge of Ægaleos was named  
Corydalus from its demus<sup>2</sup>; another part, through  
which there is a pass from the plain of Athens into  
that of Eleusis, was called Pœcilum<sup>3</sup>; and the<sup>Pœcilum.</sup>  
northern portion between Pœcilum and Parnes had  
probably some specific denomination which has not  
reached us. Such distinctive appellations were  
undoubtedly frequent in so populous and civilized

<sup>1</sup> Ὑμηττὸς ἐλαττῶν, ἀνυδρὸς καλούμενος. Theophr. de sign. plur. p. 419, Heins.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . καὶ ὁ εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πορθμὸς . . . . Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς ταύτης ὄρος ἐστὶν ὃ καλεῖται Κορυδαλὸς, καὶ ὁ δῆμος οἱ Κορυδαλεῖς.—Strabo, p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Pausan. Attic. 37, 5. It has generally been supposed that this mountain was Icarus, celebrated for the early culture of the vine, for the sacrifice of the vine-destroying goat to Bacchus, and for the songs at that feast, which gave rise to tragedy. It will hereafter be seen that there is reason to believe that these hills were occupied by the demus of Cœa, and that the demus Icarenses and mountain Icarus were near Marathon.

a country as Attica, sometimes derived from the name of the demus, sometimes from other causes. Strabo remarks, of the Attic mountains towards Bœotia, that they had a multiplicity of names <sup>1</sup>.

Brilessus. The Pentelicum of the time of the Roman empire appears to have been the same mountain, which by more ancient writers is named Brilessus or Brilettus. Theophrastus, in his treatise upon the Prognostics of Tempests, says that when about the setting of the Pleiades, it lightens over Mount Parnes, while Brilessus and Hymettus are entirely covered with clouds, a tempest may be expected; when the two latter only, that a storm of less violence ensues; but that if Parnes alone is covered, fine weather follows <sup>2</sup>.

Here it is evident that the writer alluded to the principal summits which bound the horizon of Athens. Of the identity of Parnes and Hymettus, there has never been any doubt; and the marble quarries together with the modern name Mendéli are equally convincing as to Pentelicum. It has been supposed therefore that Brilessus could have been no other than the range which unites Parnes with Pentelicum, and which bounds the plain of Athens between them. But this is too subordinate a ridge; and there is an important fact in Athenian history, stated by Thucydides, which seems entirely opposed to the supposi-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Ὠρωπίας . . . μέχρι τῆς Μεγαρίδος ἢ Ἀττικῇ ὄρεινῇ πολυώνυμος.—Strabo, p. 391.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐπὶ Πλειάδι δοσμένη ἐὰν λάμψῃ κατὰ Πάρνηθα, καὶ Βριληττὸν καὶ Ὑμηττὸν ἐὰν μὲν ἅπαντα καταλήψῃ, μέγαν χειμῶνα σημαίνει· ἐὰν δὲ τὰ δύο, ἐλάττω· ἐὰν δὲ Πάρνηθα μόνον, εὐδαίειον.—Theophrast. de Sign. Tempest. p. 438, Heins.

tion. The historian relates that in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonians at Acharnæ, which place lay in the direction of Mount Parnes from Athens, perceiving that the Athenians refused to come out of the city to engage them, plundered some of the demi between the mountains Parnes and Brilessus; after which, finding that their provisions began to fail, they retreated out of Attica, not by the same way by which they had entered, that is to say, by the Thriasian plain, but very circuitously; first into the Oropia, which was then subject to the Athenians, and from thence through a part of Bœotia, over Mount Cithæron, and through the Megaris<sup>1</sup>. It is impossible to understand the words “the demi between Parnes and Brilessus,” if we identify the latter with the ridge in question, nor the route of Archidamus into the Oropia, Brilessus upon that supposition having been a branch of Parnes itself, a part of which mountain the Lacedæmonians must have crossed. But the whole becomes clear on identifying Brilessus with Pentelicum.

We may further remark in reference to this question, that the name Pentelicum is not applied to this mountain by any Greek author except Pausanias.

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξήρσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν, ἐδῆρουν τῶν δήμων τινὰς ἄλλους, τῶν μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους . . . οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι χρόνον ἐμμείναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσον εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ ἤπερ ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ τὸν Ὀρωπὸν, τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραιϊκὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὀρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδήρωσαν· ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. Thucyd. 2. 23.



Strabo speaks only of the Pentelic marble; it seems probable, therefore, that the celebrity of the marble quarried in the demus of Pentele, upon the side of Mount Brilessus, had by a common process caused the ancient name of the mountain to be less used in those times than the adjective Pentelicum, and that the name ὁ Βριλησσός gave way in common speech to that of τὸ Πεντελικὸν ὄρος<sup>1</sup>, or Mons Pentelensis<sup>2</sup>. I have already adverted to a similar change of custom in the instance of Mount Lycabettus, which name seems to have given place in the second century of the Roman empire to that of Anchesmus<sup>3</sup>.

Phelleus.

Parallel to the ridge of hills which connects Parnes with Pentelicum at the extremity of the plain of Athens, is a higher range separated from the former by the river of Marathon, and falling northward to the north-eastern shore of Attica. This seems to have been the Mount Phelleus of antiquity, the name of which became generic among the Athenians for rocky heights having pasture upon them adapted to goats<sup>4</sup>. Mount Phelleus has two prin-

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 32, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Vitruv. 2, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Topography of Athens, p. 210.

Ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὰς αἰγας (ἐλαύνῃς) ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως

Ὡσπερ ὁ πατήρ σου, διφθέραν ἀνημμένος. Aristoph. Nub. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Cratin. ap. Harpocr. in Φελλέα. Aristoph. Acharn. 272. Isæ. de Ciron. hæred. p. 227, Reiske.

τὰ πετρώδη καὶ αἰγίβοτα χωρία φελλέας ἐκάλουν . . . . . ἦν δὲ ὁ Φελλεὺς τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὕτω καλούμενος τραχύς· αἱ δὲ αἰγες πρὸς τὰ τραχύτερα καὶ ὄρεινότερα διάγουσιν. Harpocr. in Φελλέα. V. et Suid. in Φελλέα. Hesych. in Φέλλος.



cipal summits situated about eight geographical miles to the north of Mount Pentelicum, and not far to the south-east of the modern town of Kálamo<sup>1</sup>. The only plains or considerable valleys among these heights are those of *Aphidna* and *Marathon*.

Of the rivers of Attica, the Cephissus of the Athe- Cephissus.  
nian plain is the only one which is not a mere torrent, failing in summer, and even the Cephissus very seldom carries any of its waters to the sea, but like so many other streams of hot and dry climates, is in no part of its course so copious as at its issue from the mountains. Some of its waters serve to supply the fountains of Athens, and others in their passage through the plain are diverted for the irrigation of lands.

The most distant sources of the river are on the western side of Mount Pentelicum, and the southern side of Mount Parnes, and in the intermediate ridge which unites them, but particularly at Kivisiá at the foot of *Pentelicum*,—near Fasídhéro in the part of

<sup>1</sup> At Kalo-livádhi, on the northern side of this mountain, Mr. Finlay found a sepulchral stone inscribed ΘΠΑΙΤΤΑ. This seems to be a name derived from the condition of a woman as a Thracian slave, and connected with the mountain, it calls to mind the lines of Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 272),

ὑλήφορον  
τὴν Στρνμοδώρον Θράτταν ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως.

Thracian female slaves were numerous in Attica (*Aristoph.* *Vesp.* 824. *Pa.* 287, 288. 291.) after the conquest of Amphipolis; and the agricultural labours of Mount Phelleus, of which the carrying of wood was a principal one, may have been performed by them.

*Diacria* adjoining to the same mountain,—at Tatóy, near the ancient Deceleia, and in the steepest part of Mount Parnes, from whence descends a broad torrent, which, passing near the village Menídhi, pours a large occasional supply into the main channel of the Cephissus. A part of the waters from the eastern slope of Mount Ægaleos form a separate stream, which joins the sea at Port Cantharus of Peiræus, which ancient harbour has been rendered useless by the soil deposited by this torrent in the course of ages. We are ignorant of its ancient name.

The Cephissus, as Strabo remarks, crossed the Long Walls, and in the lower part of its course is generally dry in summer <sup>1</sup>.

Ilissus.

The principal supplies of the Ilissus are from Lycabettus, from the northern end of Hymettus, and from the south-western side of Pentelicum. Its most remarkable fountain is at Syriani on the western face of Hymettus. The stream flowing from it, as I have already observed elsewhere, was probably the Eridanus of Pausanias <sup>2</sup>.

The Ilissus, after having passed the city, and

<sup>1</sup> Ποταμοὶ δ' εἰσὶν, ὃ μὲν Κηφισσὸς ἐκ Τρινεμιῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, ῥέων δὲ διὰ τοῦ Πεδίου, (ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ Γέφυρα καὶ οἱ Γεφυρισμοί,) διὰ δὲ τῶν σκελῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀστεος εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθηκόντων, ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ Φαληρικόν, χειμαρρῶδης τὸ πλεον, θέρους δὲ μειοῦται τελέως. Ἐτι δὲ τοιοῦτος μάλιστα ὁ Ἰλισσὸς, ἐκ θατέρου μέρους τοῦ Ἀστεος ῥέων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παραλίαν, ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀγρας καὶ τοῦ Λυκείου μερῶν, καὶ τῆς πηγῆς, ἣν ὕμνηκεν ἐν Φαίδρῳ Πλάτων. Strabo, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup> Topog. of Athens, p. 283.

received the water of Enneacrunus on one side, and a torrent from the southward on the other, makes a bend round the southern side of Athens, between the Museum and a rocky height, which rises from the left bank of the river, and is lost in the plain.

Though it rarely happens that any stream is visible in the channel of the river, there is always a sufficient vein of water under the dry gravelly surface of the torrent-bed, to supply some reservoirs at the gardens of Vunó, and a fountain on the road from Athens to the Peiræus.

A bridge which crosses the Ilissus 400 yards below the Olympieium, on the road from Athens to the southern coast, indicates that this torrent is not always dry; in fact, after heavy rains, the bed of the Ilissus contains a running stream for several days, and sometimes it even becomes an impetuous torrent; but this state of the river very rarely occurs, and it is only upon such occasions that any part of its waters reaches the Phaleric marsh, to which they naturally tend.

The source of the *Ilissus* at Syriáni seems to be the fountain *Callia* at *Pera*, where was a temple of Venus, probably upon the same spot now occupied by the monastery<sup>1</sup>. There is no other place near Mount Hymettus, which will so well suit the scene

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ Πήρα χωρίον πρὸς τῷ Ὑμητῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ κρήνη ἐξ ἧς αἱ πιῶσαι εὐτοκοῦσιν, καὶ αἱ ἀγῶνι γονιμοὶ γίνονται. Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐν Μαλθακοῖς Καλλίαν αὐτὴν φησὶν· οἱ δὲ Κυλλονπήραν. Suidas, Phot. Lex. in Κυλλοῦ Πήρα.

of the death of Procris, described by Ovid <sup>1</sup>. It is rare to meet with such accuracy of description in a Roman poet. We not only find the soft turf, which the fountain maintains in verdure, in the season when every thing around is parched with the excessive heat, but even all, or very nearly all the trees and shrubs which the poet enumerates.

River of  
Marathon.

On the southern shore of Attica there is no rivulet worthy of notice; on the eastern shore, not more than three. Of these the most remarkable is the torrent of Marathon, which is collected from the eastern side of Mount Parnes, and the southern side of Mount Phelleus; a second stream consists of the waters of the south-eastern side of Mount Pentelicum, which it conveys into the sea, a little below Rafína. The third is the river of Vraóna, which enters the bay of Livádhi, at the northern foot of Mount Peráti. One of the two latter was

Erasmus.

anciently named Erasinus <sup>2</sup>.

The ridges of Phelleus send forth on the northern side several torrents, flowing directly into the straits of Eubœa: the most remarkable of these are, one on each side of Kálamo, at the distance of about a mile, and a third at about the same distance to the eastward of the skala of Apostólus.

<sup>1</sup> Est prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti  
Fons sacer, et viridi cespite mollis humus.  
Silva nemus non alta facit: tegit arbutus herbam:  
Ros maris, et lauri, nigraque myrtus olent.  
Nec densæ foliis buxi, fragilesque myricæ,  
Nec tenues cytisi, cultaque pinus abest.

Ovid. Art. Amat. 3, 687.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 371.



The plain of Eleusis is traversed by two torrents, one of which, now named Ianúla, has its origin in the parts of Parnes near Phyle; the other rises in Mount Cithæron, and traverses the plain of Eleu-<sup>Cephissus of Eleusis.</sup>theræ, before it enters that of Eleusis. The latter bore the same name as the Cephissus of the Πεδίον or plain of Athens<sup>1</sup>.

From the earliest period of Attic history to the<sup>Tribes.</sup> expulsion of the Peisistratidæ, the people are said to have been divided into four φυλαὶ or tribes<sup>2</sup>, which at first were Cecropia, Autochthon, Actæa, Paralia; then Cranais, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris; then Dias, Athenais, Posidonias, Hephæstias; and lastly Geleontes<sup>3</sup>, Ægicoreis, Argades, and Hoplitæ<sup>4</sup>. Cleisthenes, who assumed the administration of the republic on the expulsion of the sons of Peisistratus, (B. C. 510.) thought to conciliate the people by increasing the number of tribes to ten, which received names from the Attic heroes Erechtheus, Ægeus, Pandion, Leos, Acamas, Æneus, Cecrops,

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 38, 5. Euseb., Cassiodor., Chron. in Hadrian.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the division of the Attic people into φυλαί, φρατρίαι, and γένη, a part of the subject not essential in a work of topography, see Thirlwall's Hist. of Greece II, c. 11. and App. 1. and Arnold's Thucydides, App. 3.

<sup>3</sup> or Teleontes. This division of the four tribes seems to have been carried with the Ionic migration into Asia. See the inscriptions of Teus and Cyzicus, in the Inscriptiones Antiquæ of Chishull and Pococke.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. 5, 66. Euripid. Ion 1575. Plutarch. Solon 23. Stephan. in Αἰγικόρεις. J. Poll. 8, 109.



Hippothoon, Ajax, Antiochus<sup>1</sup>; and these ten tribes continued to classify the freemen of Attica or citizens of Athens during the two most illustrious centuries of Athenian history. On the liberation of Athens from Cassander, B. C. 307, when Demetrius and his father Antigonus were dignified as *θεοὶ σωτῆρες*, two new tribes were founded, to which their names were attached: but about the year 260 B. C. the Antigonis was changed into Ptolemais in honour of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who assisted the Athenians with his fleet, and built for them a gymnasium; about sixty years later, when Attalus was the ally of Athens against Philip and the Rhodians, the tribe Demetrias became the Attalis. Finally, in the reign of Hadrian, the Hadrianis was formed, and named in honour of that emperor. Another division of the Attic people continued also to prevail to the latest period, which was both political and geographical: 1. The Ἀστοὶ or Ἀστεῖς, 2. The Πεδιεῖς, 3. The Παραλιεῖς or Παραλίοι, 4. The Μεσόγειοι or Μεσογαῖες, 5. The Διακρίοι or Διακρεῖς<sup>2</sup>. The first were dwellers in the city; the second, in the plain surrounding it, as far as the hills and harbours: the third were the borderers of the southern and eastern coast: the fourth were the inhabitants of the country included within Hymettus, Pentelicum, and the Paralia: the fifth

<sup>1</sup> These names are placed in the order of precedence of the tribes on the monuments.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 1, 59. Thucyd. 2, 55. 56. Plutarch. Solon 13. Amator. 18. Præcept. Polit. 10. J. Poll. 8, 109. Stephan. in Πεδῖον, Πάραλος. Hesych. in Διακρεῖς. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1218. Harpocrat. in Πεδιακά. Hesych. in Παράλῳι. Suid. in Πάραλοι, Παράλων, Πεδιεύς.

occupied all the north-eastern heights as far as the frontiers of Bœotia. These were called the *χωραι* or districts of Attica<sup>1</sup>.

Each *φυλὴ* or tribe was subdivided into *δῆμοι*, the Demi, whole number of which about the year 200 B. C. was 170. Four more appear to have been afterwards added<sup>2</sup>. The arrangement of the demi under their respective tribes, which took place at the time of Cleisthenes, continued until the latest period of Attic autonomy, with little alteration beyond that which was inevitable on the addition of the three new tribes. The arrangement appears to have been governed in some measure by considerations of locality; thus we find the neighbouring towns of Rhamnus, Marathon, Tricorythus, and Ænoe, all arranged under the tribe Æantis; Aphidna and Titacidæ, which were both in the adjacent part of Diacria, in the same tribe; in like manner Myrrhinus, Pallene, Semachus, and Pentele, were in the Antiochis; Prasiæ, and Steiria, in the Pandionis; Thoræ, Ægilia, Amphitrope, Besa, and Anaphlystus, in the Antiochis. On the other hand, Probalinthus, one of the Marathonian Tetrapolis, was not of the same tribe as the other towns, but of the Pandionis. Of four adjacent demi, called the Tetracomî, Peiræus, and Thymœtadæ, were of the Hippothoontis, Phalerum of the Æantis,

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. in *Διακρίεις*.

<sup>2</sup> Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς τέτταρα βιβλία συνέγραψε περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει· τὸ δ' ἀνάλογον συμβαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας· Ἐλευσινά τε εἰπὼν ἵνα τῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδόμηκοντα δῆμων (πρὸς δὲ καὶ τεττάρων ὡς φασιν) οὐδένα τῶν ἄλλων ὠνόμακεν. Strabo, p. 396. καίτοι ἑκατὸν ἑβδόμηκοντα τεσσάρων (φασὶ) δῆμων ὄντων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὧν πολλοὶ λαμπρὰ εἶχον διηγήματα. Eustath. in Il. B. 546.

and Xypete of the Cecropis, while Corydallus, another demus situated not far from Peiræus, was of the same tribe as that demus. It appears therefore, that the tribe can seldom afford any more than a slight presumption as to the locality of the demus.

Every Attic citizen was enrolled in one of the demi, and this domiciliary distinction was added on all public occasions to his own name and that of his father. In consequence of this custom, the ancient inscriptions of Attica have furnished us with the names of a great number of the demi: many others are met with in ancient authors, particularly in the Lexica of Harpocration, Stephanus, Hesychius, Suidas, and others; so that we are very nearly in possession of the names of all the demi.

Of the greater part of these, it cannot be expected that we should find sufficient evidence for fixing the positions, as they were of too little importance to claim the notice of history. Many of them, it may be supposed, were only communities, like our parochial divisions, spread over a certain tract of land, and having a common temple or place of assembly, in some part of the little territory, either with or without a surrounding cluster of houses. Vestiges of public buildings, marking the sites of demi, are found in every part of Attica. They consist generally of foundations formed of the native marble of that country, wrought in the finished manner customary among the Athenians. Remains of sculpture and architecture are frequent also, and ancient wells, the marble peristomia of which are worn on every side into deep notches by the action of



bucket-ropes in a long course of ages. But although the sites of the ancient demi are thus proved, their names in numerous instances, it is impossible to determine. In the accompanying map, therefore, I have inserted no ancient name without some reason for so placing it, and in stating those reasons in the following pages, I shall unite with them all the incidents of Attic history which may serve to illustrate the inquiries.

As no people in Greece were so much in the habit of engraving lapidary inscriptions as the Athenians, it cannot be doubted that many positions of demi will hereafter be ascertained, by the discovery of inscriptions, when Attica shall be more thoroughly explored, and especially by means of excavations on the ancient sites.

The modern names of Attica being less frequently of Slavonic origin than those of most of the other parts of Greece, old Attic names, more or less corrupted, are often recognised in existing names. In Attica, however, as in every part of Greece, we may not unfrequently observe that the ancient name, where it has survived, is no longer attached to the site to which it anciently belonged; the inhabitants, from various causes, having found a new place of settlement more eligible. But it has generally been in the same district, and hence the name is seldom far removed from the ancient position, and seldom fails therefore to give a presumption of locality, which may often be more precisely confirmed by existing ruins. In like manner, although inscribed marbles have frequently been moved from the places where they were erected,

to serve for building materials, or for the purpose of being preserved in churches, they have seldom been transferred to any great distance from their original situations. Nevertheless the name of a demus, when occurring in such inscriptions, cannot always be accepted as a proof even of vicinity, for the same reason that the names of all the demi of Attica may be found on the sculptured records of Athens. But there are two kinds of monuments, seldom found far from the demus, to which the inscribed demotes belonged, namely, simple sepulchral monuments, and simple dedications. Thus when we read on an ancient tombstone Τιμοκλῆς Ναυσικλήου Παιανιεύς, or Ἀρχέπολις Κυθήριος ἀνέθηκεν, we may suspect that Pæania and Cytherus were not far distant from the places where the marbles were found; for it is to be believed, that in general the Attic citizen was buried in his demus, and that comparatively few demotæ would erect monuments in a foreign demus.

We may begin by endeavouring to indicate the positions of the twelve townships into which Attica was divided before the time of Theseus, who was said to have collected the divided strength of Attica into one πόλις, the towns continuing to be κῶμαι, until the division of all Attica into demi<sup>1</sup>.

Our further remarks on the topography of Attica may be conveniently divided into,

1. The demi of the Πεδίον or Plain of Athens.
2. The demi of the Paralia and Mesogæa.

<sup>1</sup> Lower Athens probably consisted at first of separate comæ, which division was retained in the city, together with that of demi, to the latest ages.



3. The demi of Diacria, Mount Parnes, and the northern frontier.

4. The demi westward of the Plain of Athens, including the island of Salamis.

Before the time of Theseus, Attica was said to have been divided like other Ionic states into twelve confederate townships; of these the names were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Deceleia, Eleusis, Aphidna, Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia, Phalerus <sup>1</sup>.

Cecropia became the Acropolis of Athens, and Cecropia. Phalerus its principal harbour, which, as the mari- Phalerus. time power of Athens increased, fell into the condition of a subordinate haven, its demus having been included in the great maritime city founded by Themistocles. Eleusis alone, although a demus like the Eleusis. others, continued, in consequence of the respect paid to its sacred character, to be distinguished as a πόλις, and was the only place in Attica, except Athens, which coined its own money.

Tetrapolis which although numbered among the Tetrapolis. twelve cities, was in fact a corporation of four towns, continued to be a district known by the name of its chief town Marathon, and the four places which had composed it, became Attic demi. All the remaining cities sunk into demi, although most of them, in consequence of those local advantages which had rendered them important in the earlier ages, still enjoyed some superiority over the generality of the demi of Attica. Deceleia, Aphidna, Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, and Cephisia, were still among the principal towns of Attica at a late period.

<sup>1</sup> Philochorus ap. Strab. p. 397. Etymol. M. in Ἑπακρία χώρα. Plutarch. Thes. 24.

Deceleia.

Deceleia stood in the direct road from Athens to Oropus; it was distant from the former about 120 stades, and as much from the frontier of Bœotia, and it commanded a view of the city<sup>1</sup>. Mardonius with his Persians retreated by the road of Deceleia from Attica into Bœotia, previously to the battle of Plataea<sup>2</sup>. In the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Lacedæmonians under Agis fortified Deceleia, and by means of this fortress were enabled, instead of retreating out of Attica at the end of each summer, as they had done at the beginning of the war, to maintain themselves all the winter in a position which gave them the facility of plundering a great part of Attica; at the same time that they prevented the Athenians from cultivating the surrounding lands, and forced them to convey their supplies from Eubœa by navigating round Cape Sunium, instead of employing the direct road by land through the Oropia<sup>3</sup>. This loss of Deceleia was followed by a succession of pecuniary difficulties and military disasters, which at the end of eight years ended in the capture of Athens, when the garrison of Deceleia was withdrawn.

Considering these circumstances, we can hardly doubt that Deceleia was at or near the modern Tatóy, where a peaked height is a conspicuous object from the Acropolis, and bears from thence

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Δεκέλεια σταδίους μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν· παραπλήσιον δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν ᾧ κοδομεῖτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως. Thucyd. 7, 19. See also Thucyd. 6, 93; 7, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 9, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. 7, 27. 28.

N. 17 E. It is situated near the entrance of a defile which leads on the eastern side of Mount Parnes from the upper part of the plain of Athens to Oropus as well as to Tanagra. The exact site of the demus is probably marked by a fountain, near which are many remains of antiquity. The Lacedæmonian fortress occupied perhaps the peaked height; for it was situated at such an elevation, that Agis, in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, observed from thence the Athenian corn-ships entering the Peiræus<sup>1</sup>. The direct distance of this point from the Acropolis of Athens is twelve geographical miles, or something less than eleven from the walls of Athens; which sufficiently agrees with the 120 stades of Thucydides, according to the ordinary proportion of road distance in stades to the geographical mile, to leave little or no question as to the position of Deceleia<sup>2</sup>.

We are informed by Herodotus, that when the *Aphidna*. Tyndaridæ invaded Attica in search of their sister Helena, whom Theseus had concealed at Aphidna, and intrusted to the care of his friend Aphidnus, the Decelenses revealed the secret to the Lacedæ-

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. 1, 1, § 25.

<sup>2</sup> On the uniformity of the stade, as a measure of distance, see "On the stade as a linear measure," in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, ix. 1. If some of the distances in Herodotus and Thucydides are found to exceed the truth, when measured by the stade of 600 Greek feet, we may attribute it to the distances having been computed and not measured, computations of distance generally erring in excess. Measured distances, or such as must have been correctly known, are generally found to agree with the stade of 600 Greek feet.



monians, and showed them the way to Aphidna; and that for this service the latter not only conferred several privileges at Sparta on the Deceleans, but spared their lands when they laid waste the neighbouring parts of Attica in the Peloponnesian war<sup>1</sup>. This occurrence affords a presumption that Aphidna was in a strong and retired situation not far from Deceleia. An Athenian decree, cited in one of the orations of Demosthenes, which was delivered when the Athenians were alarmed by the advance of Philip into Phocis<sup>2</sup> (in the year B.C. 346), not only confirms this opinion, but shows that Aphidna was more distant than Deceleia from Athens. The decree required all the people of Attica to collect their effects in certain fortresses: those who lived within 120 stades of the city, in Athens or

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 9, 73. Diodor. 4, 63. Plutarch. Thes. 32. Pausan. Attic. 41, 4. Lacon. 18, 3. Poetæ Cyclici, et Alcman. ap. Schol. Il. Γ. 242. Isocrat. Encom. Helen. II. p. 339, Auger. Stephan., Harpocrat. in *Τιτακίδα*. Callim. ap. Etym. M. in *ἀμπρεύω*. Conf. Stephan. in *Δεκέλεια*. In this famous legend of poetical times we have the names of the *ἀρχηγέται*, or eponymous heroes of several demi, and hence a presumption of the vicinity of those demi to each other. It was related that the Lacedæmonians were joined by troops from Megara under Timalcus, son of Megareus, who was slain in the war; that they were assisted by Marathus and Ecademus of Attica; that the Aphidnæi were defeated in the field, chiefly by the valour of Marathus, who devoted himself to death on the occasion; and that Aphidna was finally taken by the treachery of Titacus, a native, and sacked by the Dioscuri. The hostility of the neighbouring towns, Marathon and Deceleia, and the treachery of Titacus, are too much in the style of Grecian history of all ages not to lend a great colour of truth to the whole story, although of so distant an age.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. pro Cor. p. 238, Reiske.



Peiræus; those beyond that distance, in Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, Rhamnus, and Sunium. As the land frontier alone was immediately threatened by the movement of Philip, it is clear that Eleusis, Phyle, Aphidna, and Rhamnus, formed a chain of fortresses towards the frontier, Athens, Peiræus, and Sunium, having been the only places of security thought necessary in the interior of Attica.

Eleusis and Rhamnus commanded the two maritime extremities of the line; and Phyle and Deceleia protected the two principal passes over the great heights of Parnes. We are led, therefore, to seek for Aphidna in a position between Deceleia and Rhamnus. As we may presume that the twelve townships of Attica were natural divisions of its territory, and that the towns stood in some advantageous situation in the midst of each, we are at once led to place Aphidna in some part of the upper valley of the river of Marathon; the fertility of which now supports the villages of Liósia, Belúsi, Tzurka, Mazi, Kapandríti, and some others. In the midst of this country rises a strong and conspicuous height named Kotróni<sup>1</sup>, upon which are considerable remains indicating the site of a fortified demus<sup>2</sup>. Here, therefore, we may with confidence place

<sup>1</sup> This name is found attached to three heights in Diacria. It belongs to the most ancient language of Greece, and in Italy was applied, with a slight metathesis, to two Greek cities, of which that of Etruria was a Pelasgic foundation. The word has the same origin, and is almost synonymous with *κράς*, *κορυς*, *κορυφή*, *Κόρινθος*.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted for this information to George Finlay, Esq., of Liósia, whose valuable observations on the Topography of Attica,

Aphidna<sup>1</sup>. Its distance from Athens is about sixteen miles, half as much from Marathon, and something less from Deceleia.

Thoricus,  
Cephisia.

Thoricus and Cephisia still preserve their ancient names little altered. The ruins of the former prove that it continued to maintain in the most opulent times of Attic history a great share of its original importance as one of the twelve cities, and the same is equally shown with regard to Cephisia by the evidence of history<sup>2</sup>.

Brauron.

Although the text of Pausanias, in alluding to the situation of Brauron, is obviously defective, we may deduce from it that Brauron was, in regard to the Marathonian district, in a direction opposite to that of Rhamnus<sup>3</sup>. From Strabo we collect only that Brauron was among the demi on or near the eastern shore of Attica<sup>4</sup>, and that near Brauron there was a river named Erasinus<sup>5</sup>. The maritime position of

both printed and manuscript, have been very useful to me in this second edition. For the former see Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, III. p. 396 seq., and Remarks on the Topography of Oropia and Diacria (with a Map), 12mo. Athens, 1838.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finlay copied at Spata, a neighbouring village . . . . .  
διων Ἀφιδναῖος).

<sup>2</sup> See below, in Section II.

<sup>3</sup> Μαραθῶνος δ' ἀπέχει τῇ μὲν Βραυρωνί. Pausan. Attic. 33, 1.  
. . . . . Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμ-  
νοῦς τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἰούσιν ἐς Ὠρωπόν. 33, 2. It seems clear  
that Pausanias had stated the distance of Brauron from Marathon.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, p. 398, 399.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐρασῖνον . . . . ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας  
. . . . . καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ Βραυρωνά. Strabo, p.  
371.

Brauron is evident also from other authorities<sup>1</sup>; as Hesychius therefore defines Diacria as extending from Parnes to Brauron<sup>2</sup>, and as the name of Diacria implies a mountainous district, the inference is natural, that Brauron was at the southern extremity of the heights of Pentelicum, where they are lost in the plain of Mesogæa, and where we find a river, or torrent, the most considerable on the eastern side of Attica, next to that of Marathon. On the other hand, the modern name *Vraóna*, which seems to be nothing more than a slight corruption of *Βραυρώννα*, the ordinary Romaic form of *Βραυρών*, is an argument that Brauron was situated near the two villages of that name, or further south than the river just mentioned; to which we may add, that the name of *Rafína*, a village on that river, is evidently the Romaic corruption of *Ἀραφὴν*, the name of an Attic demus. The vicinity of Brauron and Araphen is proved by the fact that *Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδεις*, or *Halæ* of Araphen, so called to distinguish it from *Halæ Æxonides*, was the situation of the temple of *Diana Tauropolus*, whose statue, brought from Scythia by *Iphigeneia*, was said to have been landed at Brauron<sup>3</sup>, whence we may infer that *Halæ*, afterwards a demus, was in the time of the twelve cities a subordinate place in the district of Brauron. On the sea-shore between *Rafína* and the two villages called the *Vraónes*, some remains of antiquity have been observed at a place

<sup>1</sup> Euripid. *Iphig. in Taur.* 1450, 1462. Callim. *hymn. ad Dian.* 173. Nonni *Dionys.* 13, 186. Pausan. *Attic.* 33, 1. *Lacon.* 16, 6.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ χώρα Διακρία ἡ ἀπὸ Πάρνηθος εἰς Βραυρώννα. Hesych. in *Διακρίτις*.

<sup>3</sup> Eurip. Pausan. 1. 1.



which derives the name of Ἀλικὴ from a lagoon and marshy place, where salt works may once have existed; for Alikí is a name commonly found in such situations, and is, in fact, the Romaic form of Ἀλαί, or rather the adjective of the district (ἡ χώρα Ἀλική), which has superseded the noun of the place (Ἀλαί). I am inclined to believe, therefore, that these three names, Rafína, Alikí, and Vraóna, thus found in the relative situations which might be expected of Araphen, Halæ, and Brauron, indicate nearly the real situation of those three places. In this case we must suppose, that in the time of Pausanias the Brauronia was, in common parlance, supposed to extend as far north as the heights of Pentelicum; and that, if the river of Rafína was the ancient Erasinus, Strabo's words, κατὰ Βραυρωνίαν, describing the situation of that river, are to be taken with the same kind of latitude as the expression of Pausanias. That of Hesychius is still more easily explained, as the Brauronia was in fact the northernmost district of Paralia. As to the river, it is not unlikely that the torrent of Vraónes may have been the Erasinus, and that the name of the river of Rafína, although a larger stream, may not have reached us.

Sphettus.

If Thoricus and Brauron occupied all the eastern Paralia, the country which lay between those districts and Mount Hymettus was probably divided between the townships of Sphettus and Cytherus: for neither of these would seem from Strabo to have been very near the southern or eastern shores of Paralia. But which of these towns was to the north, and which to the south, may be disputed. The only argument that has been adduced in favour of a southern situation to Sphettus is, that in the Attic



mythology, the brothers Sphettus and Anaphlystus, sons of Trœzen, migrated into Attica<sup>1</sup>; and that the demus Anaphlystus having been on the southern coast, opposite to the Trœzenia, Sphettus was similarly situated. In this case, we must suppose that although near the coast, it was not sufficiently so to have entered into the enumeration of the maritime demi by Strabo. The only circumstance indicative of the situation of Sphettus occurs in connexion with an event of the heroic times of Athens related by Plutarch, as well as by Philochorus, an Athenian antiquary of the best authority, but whose allusions to places are unfortunately, as so often happens in ancient history, those of a person, who having been well acquainted with them himself, supposes the same information in his readers. In the division of the kingdom made by the sons of Pandion the second, Ægeus had the Cecropian city and plain, together with the supreme authority; Megaris fell to the lot of Nisus, Diacria to Lycus, and to Pallas the southern part of Attica, that is to say, Paralia, including Mesogæa<sup>2</sup>. Pallas, finding that his expected succes-

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Corinth. 30, 8. Stephan. in Ἀνάφλυστος, Σφηττός.

<sup>2</sup> Τὴν δ' εἰς τέτταρα μέρη διανομήν, ἄλλων ἄλλως εἰρηκότων, ἀρκεῖ ταῦτα παρὰ Σοφοκλείους λαβεῖν· φησὶ δ' ὁ Λίγειος, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ ὤρισεν,

Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἀκτὰς τῆσδε γῆς,  
 Πρεσβεῖα νείμας· τῷ δὲ Λύκῳ . . . .  
 Τὸν ἀντίπλευρον κῆπον Εὐβοίας νέμει·  
 Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν ὁμορον ἐξαιρεῖ χθόνα  
 Σκείρωνος ἀκτῆς· τῆς δὲ γῆς τὸ πρὸς νότον  
 Ὁ σκληρὸς οὗτος καὶ γίγαντας ἐκτρέφω  
 Εἰληχε Πάλλας.

Strabo, p. 392.

V. et Apollod. 3, 15. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1218.

sion to the throne was cut off by the return to Athens of Theseus, son of Ægeus, made war upon those princes, and marched upon Athens from Sphettus by the Sphettian way, having secretly placed a body of troops at Gargettus under command of his two sons, who were ordered as soon as the Athenians should advance against Pallas, and be engaged in action with him, to march rapidly and take possession of the city. But the stratagem of Pallas was useful only to his enemies. His herald of the demus Agnus betrayed the scheme to Theseus, who forthwith attacked and destroyed the troops at Gargettus, which caused the dispersion of those of Pallas<sup>1</sup>. As Mount Hymettus lies directly between Athens and the Mesogæa, and is too high, steep, and rocky, to admit of the supposition of any road of great traffic having crossed its summit, we may presume that the Sphettian way rounded either the northern or southern side of the mountain; or that it traversed the pass which separated the greater from the lesser Hymettus. On the

<sup>1</sup> καὶ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς, οἱ μὲν ἐμφανῶς Σφηττόθεν ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς, οἱ δὲ Γαργηττοῖ κρύψαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐνὶ ὄρεον ὡς διχόθεν ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις· ἦν δὲ κήρυξ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀγνούσιος ὄνομα Λεῶς· οὗτος ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Θησεῖ τὰ βεβουλευμένα τοῖς Παλλαντίδαις· ὁ δὲ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς ἐνὶ ὄρεόνουσι πάντας διέφθειρεν. Plutarch. Thes. 13.

Πάλλαντος ἐπιθεῖναι ταῖς Ἀθήναις διανοομένου καὶ τὴν Σφηττίαν ὁδὸν προφανῶς διαπορευομένου ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄστυ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμειος αὐτοῦ, οἱ τούτου παῖδες κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πατρὸς Γαργηττοῖ ἐγκαθίζουσι μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν, ἵν' ὅταν ἐπεξέλθωσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Πάλλας συμβάλη, ἐξ ἐφόδου προσπεσόντες λάβωσι τὴν πόλιν. ἀνὴρ δέ τις, ὃς ἐκηρύκευσε τῷ Πάλλαντι, ἀπαγγέλλει τῷ Θησεῖ τὸ γινόμενον· ὁ δὲ προσπεσὼν μετὰ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖ. Philochorus ap. Schol. in Μίασμα φεύγων αἵματος Παλλαντιδῶν. Eurip. Hippol. 35.

first supposition, the Sphettian way would have entered Athens at the gate Diomeiæ, on the north-eastern side of the city; on the two latter, at the Phaleric gate. But Pallene was to the north-eastward of the city. This is proved by the fable of Minerva having gone to Pallene for a mountain to place before the Acropolis, when she dropt Lycabettus in her way back to Athens<sup>1</sup>, and still more clearly by the fact that Pallene was in the road from Marathon to Athens, at about two-thirds of the distance<sup>2</sup>. The Sphettian way, therefore, passed through the opening between Hymettus and Pentelicum, and Pallene was in that opening. In this situation, not far from the foot of Pentelicum, in the way from Athens to the Pentelic quarries, is a small village, named Garitó, which is exactly the modern pronunciation of Γαργηττός<sup>3</sup>. Here therefore, or near it, we find a position exactly suited to the design of Pallas, if we suppose him to have waited for the attack of Theseus at the northern extremity of Hymettus, two or three miles to the southward of Gargettus. Had the Sphettian road approached Athens from the south, it would have been absurd in Pallas to station his sons at a place six or eight miles to the northward

<sup>1</sup> Amelesagoras ap. Antigon. Caryst. 12. See Topog. of Athens, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> See below in Sect. II.

<sup>3</sup> The importance of Gargettus is shown by the frequent occurrence of its demotic name in ancient authors and inscriptions. One of its demotæ was the famous Epicurus (Diog. Laërt. 10, 1). Stephanus (in v.) designates it as a πόλις καὶ δῆμος. At Kharvâti, two miles to the south-east of Garitó, on a sepulchral stone, are the following: Νίκων Κτέωνος Γαργήτιος—Κτέων Νικωνος Γαργήτιος. Νίκων Κτέωνος Γαργήτιος—a grandfather, father, and son.



of the city, while he entered the plain near its opposite extremity ; thus placing between the two bodies not only a distance of sixteen or eighteen miles, but in the middle of that space, the city and the strong ground lying between it and Hymettus, which must have prevented either party from assisting the other, or even from knowing how he was employed. Sphettus, therefore, I am disposed to place in the northern part of the Mesogæa, and Cytherus in the southern.

Possibly Spata, not far from which are considerable remains of a demus, may be a corruption of Sphettus, and may nearly indicate the site of this ancient town. Such a central situation in the Mesogæa seems the only one well adapted to the fact, that the Sphettian Way led round the northern extremity of Hymettus.

Cytherus.

As to Cytherus there is none but the slightest indication of its locality. 'Elymbo (Ἐλυμπος), a village situated a few miles inland from Anáfyso, in the most considerable valley of this part of Attica, appears from extant remains to have occupied the site of a demus of some importance. The village bears the same name as a remarkable mountain which rises above it on the north, and which has evidently preserved its ancient appellation<sup>1</sup>, although not recorded in history. At some period of time, now probably very distant, the name of the mountain appears to have superseded that of the demus which stood on the site of the village. Here a fragment, of a dedicatory inscription, contains the remains of a demotic

<sup>1</sup> Mount Olympus of Thessaly is now called Ἐλυμπος.



adjective, which will not admit of any restoration but *Κυθήριος*<sup>1</sup>. This situation of Cytherus at the southern end of the inland country, embraced by Paralia, would correspond perfectly with the supposition of Sphettus having been at Spata, according to what has already been presumed as to the relative situation of those two places.

Of the twelve townships, Epacria alone remains to Epacria. be located. Its district bordered upon that of the Tetrapolis of Marathon<sup>2</sup>; and as the name indicates that it was mountainous, we are confined to the eastern and south-eastern heights of Brilessus; for the districts of Cephisia, Aphidna, and Rhamnus, pressed closely upon Tetrapolis to the north and west. Within those limits, the most remarkable situation, and that best adapted to have been the *κατοικία* of the district in early ages, is Pikérmi, where a strong position on a perennial stream, at a distance of four or five miles from the sea, added to some vestiges of buildings and several inscriptions, are proofs of a Hellenic site. That these vestiges are not greater may be attributed to the natural advantages of the place, which, though now occupied only by a Metóghi, caused a town to be here situated under the Byzantine empire, as demonstrated by churches and other remains; among which are ruins of aqueducts, and the vestiges of a castle, on a height which forms

1

APXEI . . . . .

(ΚΥΘ)ΗΡΙΟΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ.

Mr. Finlay, to whom I am indebted for this inscription, remarks that there are many extensive and curious remains at 'Elymbó.

<sup>2</sup> 'Επακρία : ὄνομα χώρας πλησίον Τετραπόλεως κειμένης. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 259.

the chief feature of the place<sup>1</sup>. The same advantages, which thus retained here a part of the population in the declining ages of Attica, are likely in early times to have made it the position of one of the twelve Cecropian cities.

The name Epacria was employed as that of a district by Philochorus<sup>2</sup>, but probably as synonymous with Diacria, for such also is its meaning in the Etymologicum<sup>3</sup>. From an inscription of an earlier time than that of Philochorus, Epacria appears to have been one of the Attic demi, near Plotheia and Halæ<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finlay remarks that "foundations of modern times extend over a circumference of two miles, and show that in no very distant age Pikérmi has been the most populous place in Attica, next to Athens."

<sup>2</sup> Φιλόχορος δὲ τῆς Ἐπακρίας φησὶ τὸν δῆμον. Stephan. in Σημαχίδα.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθηναῖους πάλαι κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦντας πρῶτος Κέκρωψ συναγαγὼν κατῴκισεν εἰς πόλεις δυοκαίδεκα· καὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κεκροπίαν προσηγόρευσε· δύο δὲ τετραπόλεις ἐκάλεσεν, ἐκ τεσσάρων πόλεων ἑκατέραν μοῖραν καταστήσας· τρεῖς δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπακρίδας ὠνόμασε· καὶ ἡ προσεχὴς χώρα, ταύταις ταῖς τρισὶν ὁμωνύμως αὐταῖς Ἐπακρία ἐκαλεῖτο. Etym. M. in Ἐπακρία χώρα. It appears that Cecrops gave the name of Cecropia to the principal city of the twelve, afterwards the Acropolis of Athens; and that he classed the remaining eleven in three μοῖραι, two of four cities each, and one of three cities. The latter portion was called Epacria, and its cities the Epacrides. These cities probably were Epacria itself, which perhaps had another name, Aphídna, and Tetrapolis Marathonia. One of the two Tetrapolitan portions we may conjecture to have consisted of Cephisia, Deceleia, Eleusis, and Phalerum: the other, of Cytherus, Sphettus, Thoricus, and Brauron.

<sup>4</sup> Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 82.

## SECTION II.

### *The Demi of the plain of Athens.*

THE demi, which immediately surrounded the city on the east, north, and west, were Agryle, Cœle, and the exterior portions of Diomeia and the Ceramenses. Of these enough has been said in another place. Bordering on them were Alopece, the Lacciadæ, Colonus, and Œum.

The situation of Alopece is ascertained from Herodotus and Æschines; the former of whom states it to have been near Cynosarges<sup>1</sup>, and the latter at eleven or twelve stades from the city wall<sup>2</sup>. Hence it appears to have been situated in the vale of the Ilissus, at the distance of a mile and a half from the ancient walls of Athens, and not far from Ambelókipo; in which village some remains of an ancient building in the church may be those of a temple of Venus at Alopece, alluded to in an Attic inscription<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀγχιμολίου εἰσὶ ταφαὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακληίου τοῦ ἐν Κυνოსάργει. Herodot. 5, 63.

<sup>2</sup> . . . τὸ δ' Ἀλωπεκῆσι χωρίον, ὃ ἦν ἄπωθεν τοῦ τείχους ἕνδεκα ἢ ὀώδεκα στάδια. Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 119, Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . Φ. Εὐτυχιανὸν Μαλλώνιον, ἱερασάμενον τῆς Ἀλωπεκῆσι Ἀφροδίτης . . . . Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 395.

*Lacciadæ.* The Lacciadæ, or Lacienses, were on the Sacred Way to Eleusis, between the outer Cerameicus and the Cephissus <sup>1</sup>. They had the honour of being the demus to which the family of Miltiades belonged <sup>2</sup>.

*Colonus.* Colonus has been still more renowned by the verses of Sophocles, who was himself enrolled in this demus. Its situation was at ten stades from Dipylum, near the Academy and the river Cephissus <sup>3</sup>. Here was a sacred enclosure of the Eumenides, and a temple of Neptune, with altars of Neptune Hippius, Minerva Hippias, Ceres, Jupiter, and Prometheus, together with heroa of Peirithous, Theseus, Œdipus, and Adrastus <sup>4</sup>. The temple of Neptune and the sacred grove were burnt by Antigonus, and Pausanias found there only the heroa and some of the altars. The two small, but conspicuous heights, which gave name to the spot, are easily recognized a little to the north of the Academy, between that site and the village of Sepolia; and a few remains of Hellenic buildings are still found upon the spot.

*Æum Cerameicum.* Æum Cerameicum was a demus distinguished, by its adjunct, from another Æum, near Deceleia, surnamed Deceleicum. The name shows the former to have been near the outer Cerameicus; and as Colonus and the Lacciadæ were adjacent to the great cemetery on the north-west and west, it seems

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 37, 1. See below in Section IV.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch. Cimon 4. Alcibiad. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. 8, 67. Cicero de Fir. 5, 1. Sophoc. Œd. Col. 719.

<sup>4</sup> Sophoc. Œd. Col. 499. Thucyd. 8, 67. Apollod. 3, 5, § 9. Schol. Sophoc. in arg. Œd. Col. Pausan. Attic. 30, 4.



necessary to place Œum to the south-west, between the Sacred Way and the northern Long Wall.

The Thymœtadæ, Xypetæones, Peiræenses, and Phalerenses, formed the Tetracomî<sup>1</sup>, who had a temple of Hercules common to the four demi<sup>2</sup>. The two former demi, therefore, were near the maritime city.

The Thymœtadæ who derived their name from Thymœtas, king of Attica, possessed a port; for we are told by Plutarch, that, according to the Athenian antiquary Cleidemus, Theseus here built some ships intended for his expedition to Crete, and that he chose this place in order to be free from the observation of strangers<sup>3</sup>. Hence the Thymœtadæ seem to have been the inhabitants of the small circular harbour at the entrance of the Strait of Salamis, which bordered on the demus of Corydalus, and which received the name of Phoron from the frauds there committed against the Athenian revenue<sup>4</sup>. Here we still find the foundations of a temple upon a height near the beach, and other remains at a quarter of a mile on the road to Athens, in a small plain belonging to a farm called Keratzîni,

<sup>1</sup> . . . . τοῖς Ἀθήνησι Τετρακώμοις, οἱ ἦσαν Πειραιεῖς, Φαληρεῖς, Ξυπετεῶνες, Θυμοιτάδαι. J. Poll. 4, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐχελίδα· ὁῦμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ Ἐχέλου ἥρως· οὗτος δ' ἀπὸ Ἑλούς, τόπου μεταξὺ οὗτος τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τοῦ τετρακώμου Ἡρακλείου, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐτίθεισαν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις. Stephan. in v.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch. Thes. 19.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς φώρων λιμένα, ὅς ἐστιν ἔξω τῶν σημείων τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐμπορίου. Demosth. c. Lacrit. p. 932, Reiske. οἱ Κορυθαλιεῖς, εἶθ' ὁ Φώρων λιμὴν καὶ ἡ Ψυττάλεια. Strabo, p. 395.

which lies at the foot of Mount Ægaleos. Vestiges also of an ancient causeway, similar to that of the Sacred Way, and leading in the direction of the ferry of Salamis, are seen at the foot of the mountain. It is probably the ancient road from Athens to the ferry. The temple, of which the foundations remain, may perhaps have been the Heracleium common to the four demi; and the same Heracleium which Ctesias and Diodorus mention as being on the Attic side of the Strait of Salamis, and on the heights above which Phanodemus relates that Xerxes was seated during the battle of Salamis<sup>1</sup>; for although it is not in the narrowest part of the strait, the harbour was probably the point from whence the passage-boats to Salamis departed, as it is at the present day; whence the Heracleium became the most noted place on this part of the Attic shore.

Echelidæ.

The demus Echelidæ having been between Peiræus and the Heracleium, in or near a marshy place, seems to have stood a little to the westward of the level, which surrounds Port Cantharus. Here was a statue of the hero Echelus, and here gymnastic contests of the Panathenæa were held<sup>2</sup>. Xypete,

Xypete.

<sup>1</sup> Ctes. ap. Phot. Myriob. p. 117. Diodor. 11, 18. Phanodem. ap. Plutarch. Themist. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Εχελος, ἥρως παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμώμενος καὶ δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἐχελίδαί, ἀπὸ τοῦ κειμένου ἔλουν τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἴδονται τὸ τοῦ Ἐχίλου ἄγαλμα· παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἔχειν Ἐχελος καὶ Ἐχελίδαί δῆμος ἀπὸ Ἐχελος. Etymol. M. in Ἐχελος. See above, p. 33, n. 2. These Panathenæa were probably the lesser, some of the chief ceremonies of which were performed in the maritime city. See Topog. of Athens, p. 567.

remarkable insulated height a mile from the head of the harbour of Peiræus, where are still seen some Hellenic foundations <sup>1</sup>.

The principal demus of the plain of Athens, and Acharnæ. the greatest in all Attica, was Acharnæ <sup>2</sup>, situated sixty stades to the northward of the city <sup>3</sup>, and consequently not far from the foot of Mount Parnes. It was evidently to the vicinity of the woods of this mountain that the Acharnenses were indebted for that traffic in charcoal, for which they were noted among the ancient Athenians <sup>4</sup>. They possessed one of the most fertile plains in Attica <sup>5</sup>; they enjoyed a high military character <sup>6</sup>, not unnaturally connected with roughness of manners <sup>7</sup>, and they were so numerous as to furnish, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 3000 hoplitæ, or a tenth of the whole regular infantry of the republic <sup>8</sup>. The Acharnenses had sanctuaries or altars of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς, of Hercules, of Minerva Hygieia, of Minerva Hippiæ, of Bacchus Melpomenus, and of Bacchus Cissus, so

<sup>1</sup> The demus of the Xypetæones was also called Τροία, and according to Phanodemus, and others, Teucrus led from hence an Attic colony into Phrygia: from this demus therefore was derived the name of the celebrated Phrygian city. Phanod. ap. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. Roman. 1, 61. Stephan. in Τροία.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . Ἀχάρνας, χωρίον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων. Thucyd. 2, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. 2, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. Acharn. 332. Schol. in 34.

<sup>5</sup> Lucian. Icaro-Menip. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Pindar. Nem. 2, 25. Aristoph. Acharn. 180.

<sup>7</sup> Etym. M. in Δρυαχαρνειῦ. Senec. Hippolyt. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Thucyd. 2, 13. 20.



called because, according to the Acharnenses, the ivy (κισσός) first grew in this demus<sup>1</sup>.

The situation of the district of Acharnæ, if not the exact position of the town, is shown from two important occurrences in ancient history; the earlier of which gives strong reason to believe that the district was separate from the Πεδίον, or plain of Athens, or at least was such a distinct portion, or branch of it, as would afford a good defensive position to an invading force.

When Archidamus was encamped with his Lacedæmonians at Acharnæ, in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, he remained the whole time in order of battle prepared for an attack, and did not descend into the plain of Athens, with the view of provoking the Athenians to an action, because he hoped to reduce them to submission by laying waste the country, and by keeping them shut up in the city<sup>2</sup>. Archidamus had marched into his position at Acharnæ, from Œnoe, a fortress on the confines of Bœotia near Eleutheræ<sup>3</sup>; from thence he moved into the plain of Eleusis and Thria, which he destroyed; and after having defeated a body of Athenian horsemen who opposed him near the Rheiti, he proceeded, leaving Ægaleos on his right, through Cecropia<sup>4</sup> to Acharnæ. If Cecropia was

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 31, 3. Epigr. ap. Suid. in Ἀχαρνείτης.

<sup>2</sup> Γνώμη δὲ τοιῇδε λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον περὶ τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς, ὥς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον μέιναι, καὶ ἐς τὸ Πεδίον ἐκείνη τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ καταβῆναι. Thucyd. 2, 20.

<sup>3</sup> See Travels in Northern Greece, II. p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> . . . ἔπειτα προυχώρου, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Λιγάλεων



the part of the plain which immediately surrounds Athens, having been so called because it had been the territory of Cecropia, when Athens under this name was one of the twelve townships of Attica, we are to suppose that Archidamus, after having defeated the Athenian horsemen, traversed the pass of Dhafni, or Mount *Pæcilum*, and skirted the hills from thence northward into the plain of Acharnæ.

In the celebrated enterprise of Thrasybulus, which rescued Athens from Lacedæmonian influence and from the tyranny of the Thirty, his first step was to march from Thebes with about seventy men, and to surprise the fortress of Phyle, as the most favourable post for further operations in Attica. The Thirty, after failing in an attempt to recover Phyle, formed a camp of cavalry and infantry at Acharnæ; they then threw some men into Peiræus, and proceeded to take some treacherous and cruel measures against the opponent party at Eleusis, which fortress they wished to secure to themselves in case of disaster. Thrasybulus, when he had collected about 700 men at Phyle, suddenly, one morning, attacked the Athe-

ὄρος, διὰ Κεκροπίας ἕως ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἀχαρνάς. Thucyd. 2, 1.

Some of the MSS. of Thucydides have *Κρωπίας*, others *Κεκρωπίας*; but *Κεκροπία* appears to have been the reading which Stephanus acknowledged; for, like Thucydides, he describes *Κεκροπία* as a district (*χώρα*). Stephanus distinguishes (in vv.) the *φύλη* Cecropis, the *χώρα* Cecropia, and the demus *Κρώπεια*, and cites as to the last the authorities of Phrynichus and Androtion.

nians in their position at Acharnæ, and totally defeated them; soon afterwards, seizing upon Peiræus with equal promptitude, he obtained such a position as soon enabled him to effect a revolution at Athens<sup>1</sup>.

That branch of the Πεδίον, or plain of Athens, therefore, which is included between the foot of the hills of Khassiá and a projection of the range of *Ægaleos*, stretching eastward from the northern termination of that mountain, seems to have been the district of the demus Acharnæ. Khassiá, which is situated immediately above this plain to the north-west, among the woods and precipices of Mount Parnes, has succeeded to the importance of Acharnæ, as well as to the greater part of its commerce in charcoal.

The exact situation of the town of Acharnæ will perhaps be determined by future discoveries. Some Hellenic remains, situated three quarters of a mile to the westward of Menídhi, and which are not much more than sixty stades from the position of the Acharnic gate of Athens, have generally been taken for those of Acharnæ; but Menídhi has every appearance of being a corruption of Παιονίδαί, the accent being the same in both, and the conversion of Π into M, as well as the dissolving of the two vowel sounds into one, being common in the formation of Romaic words from the Hellenic.

At a distance of three or four miles to the north of Menídhi, at the upper end of a long acclivity,

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4. § 2. seq. Diod. 14, 32.

stands the Metókhi of St. Nicolas, a small monastery dependent upon that of the Holy Trinity ('Αγία Τριάς), which is situated amidst the woods of the upper region of Mount Parnes. The metókhi is built in a strong situation upon the summit of a height, backed by the pine-woods of the mountain, and near the right bank of a remarkable torrent already alluded to, which descends directly from the summit of the mountain and flows along a broad gravelly bed to the Cephissus. This position, though it retains no vestige of antiquity, corresponds with the description which Herodotus gives of Leipsydrium, if we admit that Menídhi is the site of Pæonia or the Pæonidæ; for Leipsydrium was situated above Pæonia<sup>1</sup>. It was noted in Attic history, as having afforded refuge to the party opposed to the Peisistratidæ after the death of Hipparchus; and it was fortified by the Alcmaeonidæ, who were at the head of that party, but was soon taken by the Peisistratidæ, after a battle in which the latter were successful. This being the only occasion upon which Leipsydrium is mentioned, the fortress of the Alcmaeonidæ was probably only a temporary work. The situation is peculiarly well adapted for the object which the Alcmaeonidæ had in view, that of collecting their party in a fortified place from whence they could re-enter Athens in force.

Following the foot of Mount Parnes from hence towards the pass of Tatóy, we find the remains

<sup>1</sup> Λειψύδριον τὸ ὑπὲρ Παιωνίης τειχίσαντες ἐνθαῦτα οἱ Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι πᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πεισιστρατίδῃσι μηχανώμενοι, &c. Herodot. 5, 62.



Œum,  
Decelei-  
cum.

of two demi; of one at the village of Varibópi, (Βαριμπόπη,) of another at three quarters of a mile nearer to Deceleia. The latter may perhaps be the Œum, which was called Deceleicum from its proximity to Deceleia, and to distinguish it from the demus of the same name near the Cerameicus.

Cephisia.

The principal demus in the upper part of the Athenian plain was Cephisia<sup>1</sup>, or Cepheisia, situated at the foot of Mount Pentelicum, nearly opposite to Acharnæ. The modern name differs only from the ancient in the change of φ into the kindred β, Κηβείσια or Κηβησία<sup>2</sup>, instead of Κηφείσια<sup>1</sup>. Cephisia being one of the few situations in Attica, which enjoy the advantage of perennial fountains together with that of the vicinity of a woody mountain, was a favourite summer-retreat of the wealthier Turks of Athens, unworthy successors of those Greeks and Romans who were formerly entertained here in the villa of the illustrious Athenian philosopher, who

<sup>1</sup> Κηφησία is the form most frequently found in the ancient authors; but inscriptions of different dates, show that Κηφισιεύς or Κηφεισιεύς was the true orthography of the gentile of this demus.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the written form of the word, though the Attic peasants disguise it in the pronunciation. The modern Greeks, even those not the most uneducated, pronounce σι like the English sh; and in words ending in ια, accented on the penultima, they often remove the accent to the last syllable. To these corruptions the Athenians add another, peculiar to Attica and a few other places which were long in possession of the Franks, namely, that of pronouncing the K before ε or ι like the Italian C similarly placed. Thus Κηβησία, in the mouth of an Attic peasant, becomes (to represent it in Italian) Civisciá.



had adorned the place with gardens, buildings, and statues, and had made it the most agreeable retreat in Attica, in one of the most polished ages of Athenian society<sup>1</sup>. Some foundations and other vestiges of antiquity are still to be seen in the village of Kivisiá.

Stuart was the first to suggest that the village of Marúsi, which is situated a mile and a half from Kivisiá on the road to Athens, is the site of *Athmonum* or *Athmonia*; for this demus appears to have been at no great distance from Athens, and the Amarysia, a festival in honour of Diana Amarysia, whose temple was at Athmonia, to have been celebrated by all the Athenians<sup>2</sup>; this surname of the goddess, therefore, may in the course of time have been substituted for the real name of the place<sup>3</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Philost. Sophist. 2, 1. § 12. A. Gell. 18, 10. The latter author in another place (1, 2.) gives the following interesting account of Cephisia in the time of Herodes. "Herodes Atticus, vir et Græcâ facundiâ et consulari dignitate præditus, arcessebat sæpe nos, quum apud magistros Athenis essemus, in villas ei urbi proximas, me et Cl. V. Servilianum, compluresque alios nostrates, qui Româ in Græciam ad capiendum ingenii cultum concesserant: atque ibi tunc, quum essemus apud eum in villâ cui nomen est Cephisia, et æstu anni et sidere autumnî flagrantissimo, propulsabamus caloris incommoda lucorum umbrâ ingentium, longis ambulacris et mollibus ædium porticum refrigerantibus, lavacris nitidis et abundis et collucentibus, totiusque villæ venustate aquis undique canoris atque avibus personante."

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. 31, 3. Hesych. in Ἀμαρυσία et Ἀθμονιάζειν.

<sup>3</sup> The following inscription in very ancient characters was found near Marúsi. ΗΡΟΤΗΣ : ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΗΣ : ΤΕΜΕΝΟΤΗΣ : ΑΜΑΡΥΣΙΑΤΗΣ : τεμένος according to the old Attic orthography for τεμένους.

Athmonenses had also a very ancient temple of Venus Urania<sup>1</sup>.

Hephæstia.

The Hephæstiadæ, so called according to Stephanus from a temple of Vulcan which they possessed, appear from Diogenes Laërtius to have bordered on the Cephisienses<sup>2</sup>.

Araklí, a modern village, situated two or three miles westward of Kivisiá and of Marúsi, derives its name probably from the Ἡράκλειον, or temple of Hercules, at Hephæstia, mentioned by the same author, and indicates therefore the site of that demus. The names Hephæstiadæ, Athmonenses, Æthalidæ, and Dædalidæ, seem, like the modern Khalkomatádhēs, to have reference to the smelting of copper. It is probable, therefore, that this manufacture was carried on in all this part of the plain of Athens, from the earliest to a comparatively recent period; and that the Æthalidæ and Dædalidæ were demi not far distant from the Athmonenses and Hephæstiadæ<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 14, 6.

<sup>2</sup> Stephan. in Ἡφαιστία . . . τὸ ἐν Ἡφαιστιάδων χωρίον, ᾧ γείτων βορρᾶθεν ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Κηφησιᾶσιν ἱεροῦ, νοτῶθεν τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ ἐν Ἡφαιστιάδων. Diogen. Laërt. 3, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Hence it appears that the smelting of copper gave employment to a large portion of the people of Attica in those early times, when the more difficult operation of producing iron from the ore was rare, and when arms and utensils were generally made of the former metal.

The memory of this fact was preserved in the Χαλκεῖα, an Attic festival in honour of Vulcan, and so called because he was said to have taught the working of copper in Attica. (Har-

Stuart supposed, with some appearance of probability, that the modern Bélikas (Μπέλικας), near Marúsi, stands on the site of the Πήληκες: but there is a doubt on this question, arising from a remark of Stuart himself, who at a village called Korópi, in the Mesóghia, found a marble inscribed with the name of a δημότης of the ancient Cropeia<sup>1</sup>. If the Cropidæ, therefore, were one of the Tricomi, with the Peleces and Eupyridæ<sup>2</sup>, the Peleces were probably

pocrat., Etym. M. in Χαλκεῖα. J. Poll. 7, 105. Eustath. in Il. B. 552.) In the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, reference seems to be made to a copper-mine at Colonus:

Χαλκοπούς ὁδὸς . . . . . v. 58.

καταρράκτην ὁδὸν

Χαλκοῖς βαθροῖσι γῆθεν ἐρρίζωμένον . . . .

v. 1661.

The Scholiast on the former passage adds οὕτως δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο διὰ τὸ εἶναι μέταλλα χαλκοῦ ἐν Κολωνῷ. So that the ancient workers of copper seem to have extended from Colonus as far as the foot of Mount Pentelicum. In the middle of this country stood the demus of the Hephæstiadæ preserving in its name the recollection of an ancient tribe or division of the Attic population, at once social and sacred, which comprised probably the workers of copper in other parts of Attica, though this may have been the most important district.

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Antiq. of Athens, III. p. xii.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐπυρίδαι· δῆμος Λεοντίδος φυλῆς· ὁ δημότης Εὐπυρίδης. Τρικώμους δὲ τούτους ἐκάλουν, Εὐπυρίδας, Κεκροπίδας (l. Κρωπίδας), Πήληκας. Stephan. in v.

Εὐπυρίδαι· δῆμος καὶ τόπος Ἀθήνησιν. Hesych. in v.

Εὐπυρίδαι· δῆμος Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι ἐν Ἀθήναις πρῶτον τὸ πῦρ εὐρησθαι φασὶ κατὰ τὸν δῆμον τοῦτον, τῆς ἐκλάμψεως αὐτοῦ γενομένης. Etymol. M. in v.

It might be supposed from the two latter authorities that the demi were within the city, but Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν Ἀθήναις were often

in the Mesogæa. On the other hand, it is likely that the place where fire was said to have been discovered, was in the part of Attica more peculiarly connected with the worship of Vulcan.

Pallene.

Pallene derived its name from Pallas, king of Paralia and Mesogæa, as appears from Plutarch, who relates that there was enmity between the people of Pallene and Agnus, caused by the resentment of the former against the treachery of the herald Leos of Agnus, when Pallas marched against Theseus<sup>1</sup>. The frequent occurrence of the name of Pallene in lapidary inscriptions, as well as in the ancient authors<sup>2</sup>, evinces the importance of the demus. It was chiefly noted for its temple of Minerva. From Herodotus we may deduce its exact situation.

When Peisistratus landed with his sons and other adherents at Marathon, with a view of recovering the *tyranny*, of which he had been deprived for ten years by the Alcmaeonidæ, the latter did not disturb him as long as his operations were confined to the collecting of money and partisans; but as

employed for "in Attica." Thus the two Lampræ, one of which was near and the other upon the southern shore of Attica, were, according to Hesychius, *ἑῆμοι Ἀθήνησιν*, and Suidas describes Marathon as *τόπος Ἀθήνησιν*.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Thes. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 84. Androtion., Aristot. ap. Aristoph. Acharn. 234. Eurip. Heracl. 849. 1031. Theophr. ap. Diogen. Laërt. 296. Andocid. de Myst. p. 53, Reiske. Psephism. ap. Vit. X. Rhet. in Antiphon. Plutarch. Thes. 13. Athen. 6, 6. p. 234, F. Amelesagoras ap. Antigon. Caryst. 12. Hesych. in *Παρθένος Παλληνίδος*.



soon as it was known at Athens that he was moving from Marathon towards the city, the Alcmaeonidæ marched out to oppose him. The adverse parties met, and halted near Pallene<sup>1</sup>. As soon as the Athenians had dined and were occupied, some in playing at dice, and others in sleeping, their opponents fell upon them and put them entirely to the rout. Peisistratus, by way of strengthening his cause, ordered his sons to ride after the fugitives and assure them of his clemency, and thus for the third time he became absolute master of Athens. Here it appears that Peisistratus had moved from Marathon before the Alcmaeonidæ began their march from Athens. Pallene, therefore, where they met, was nearer to Athens than to Marathon, and it appears to have been near Gargettus; for we learn from Euripides that the battle between Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ, and the Heracleidæ, in alliance with the Athenians, occurred near Pallene<sup>2</sup>; on which account Eurystheus desired that he should be buried "before the temple of Minerva Pallenis<sup>3</sup>." From other authorities we learn that Gargettus was the place of sepulture<sup>4</sup>. We may infer, therefore, that

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus says, "at the temple of Minerva Pallenis;" Andocides, at the Pallenium; the Scholiast of Aristophanes, at the Attic demus of the Pallenenses.

<sup>2</sup> Παλληνίδος γὰρ σεμνὸν ἐκπερῶν πάγον  
Δίας Ἀθήνας. Heraclid. 849.

<sup>3</sup> Θανόντα γὰρ με θάψεθ', οὗ τὸ μόρσιμον  
Δίας πάροιθε παρθένον Παλληνίδος. Ibid. 1030.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, p. 377. Stephan., Hesych. in Γαργητός. According to the Marathonian version of this transaction, the battle occurred in the Marathonia, and instead of Eurystheus having

the temple of Pallene stood immediately in face of Gargettus, and that Gargettus having been, as

fled and been pursued in his chariot and slain by Iolaus, at the Scironian rocks in the way to Megara, from whence he had advanced, he fell in action at the carriage-way, near the fountain Macaria in the Marathonian. Here his head was cut off by Iolaus, and buried, whence the place was afterwards called "the head of Eurystheus;" his body alone, according to this legend, having been buried at Gargettus.

The precise position of Pallene seems to be indicated by some Hellenic ruins, of considerable extent, on a height which is separated only from the northern extremity of Hymettus, by the main road into the Mesogæa. This place is about a mile and a half to the south-westward of Garitó, near two small churches, in one of which Mr. Finlay found the following fragment :

ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ

ΠΑΛΛ(ΗΝΕΥΣ).

This situation, where the roads of the Mesogæa necessarily unite in approaching Athens, is such a point as would be important, and often occupied in military operations : and accordingly we find that on three occasions, in the early history of Athens, Pallene was the scene of action ; first, when Eurystheus fought against the Athenians and Heracleidæ ; again when Theseus was opposed to the Pallantidæ ; and a third time when Peisistratus defeated the Alcæonidæ.

The following inscription at Gheráki, midway between the site of Pallene and Kharváti, gives reason to believe that Iphistia was in this vicinity.

. . . . . ΛΗΣ

. . . . . ΑΛΛΑΧΟΥ

(Ι)ΦΙΣΤΙΑΔΗΣ.

This demus has been supposed the same as the Ἡφαιστιάδαι, the chief support of which opinion is found in both having pertained to the tribe Acamantis ; but the different etymology of the two names is a sufficient argument for distinguishing them. The Hephæstiadæ were named from Vulcan (Stephan.

appears from the name Garitó, at the foot of Pentelicum, Pallene was immediately opposite to it at the foot of Hymettus.

The last slopes of Mount Hymettus, and the declivities at the foot of it, furnished advantageous positions for villages; and we find, accordingly, the vestiges of several *demi* in this situation. About midway, between the site of Pallene and that of Agryle are the remains of a fortified *demus*, which has already been alluded to<sup>1</sup>.

Following the same direction along the foot of Hymettus, there occur remains of other *demi*; one at two miles to the south-east of that extremity of the city; another near Kará, the former importance of which is indicated by tumuli. Above Kará, in a retired hollow just below the highest summit of Hymettus, on the south, is the monastery of Karyés (*Καρυαῖς*, the walnut-trees), above which are ancient quarries and some shafts of columns, which, after having been shaped, have been left unremoved from the quarry. The stone is of a much less brilliant whiteness than the Pentelic marble, and in some places may be called gray. The preference which the Romans appear to have given to this marble over the Pentelic, may have been owing partly to the quarry being nearer to the coast, and partly to fashion, which seems to have had great influence over the wealthy Romans, since we find them transporting marbles from Phrygia, Libya, and Laconia, and

in v.), the Iphistiadæ from Iphistius, an Attic hero (Hesych., Suid. in v.).

<sup>1</sup> Topography of Athens, p. 416.



even painting them for the sake of still farther variety<sup>1</sup>.

Hymettus seems to have possessed mines of silver as well as of marble, and it is said that some of the shafts may still be seen<sup>2</sup>. All these works ceased with the Roman government: but nature remains the same; the bees continue to extract its natural riches from the surface of Hymettus, and produce from the fragrant herbs of its dry and scanty soil the excellent honey for which the mountain was anciently renowned. Nonnus, an Egyptian poet, and Synesius, a bishop of the Cyrenaica, have recorded the fame of the Attic honey in the fifth century, when little else could be said of Athens<sup>3</sup>; it is still superior to that of the surrounding provinces of Greece, and the Hymettian apiaries are reputed to furnish the best in Attica.

Trákhones and Asáni, villages at the foot of the lesser Hymettus, on the road from Athens to Vari, retain many remains of Hellenic buildings in their vicinity; and near the latter are some tumuli. In

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. 35, 1. From the mention made of Hymettian marble by Latin authors, it appears to have been used chiefly in architecture. The great scantling of which the trabes Hymettiae was capable, may perhaps have recommended it to them; though at first the Hymettian marble was probably used at Rome, as well as some other foreign marbles, because the resources of the Italian quarries were yet unknown. L. Crassus was the first who had Hymettian columns in his house; they were only six in number, and no more than twelve feet long. Plin. H. N. 36, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Chandler, (Travels in Greece, c. 30,) has described his journey to one of these shafts; it was in the pass between the greater Hymettus and Anhydrus, or the lesser.

<sup>3</sup> Nonni Dionys. 13, 182. Synes. Epist. ad Fratr. ap. Ep. Græc. Mut. p. 247, Cujac.



the part of the plain below Kará and Trákhones<sup>1</sup>, are remains also of a demus around Bekhámi.

On the opposite side of the lower plain of Athens, following the foot of the mountain which unites Parnes with Ægaleos, we meet with the remains of ancient constructions near Khaidári, not far to the northward of the hill of St. Elias at the entrance of the pass of Dhafni, formerly Pœcilum. These probably are remains of Hermus, Hermi, or the demus of the "Ερμείοι<sup>2</sup>. Several tumuli, and other vestiges of antiquity indicating the site of an important demus, are also found near the village of Leví (Λεβή).

At the foot of Mount Ægaleos, are considerable remains of a demus near the entrance of another pass, which leads across that mountain to Skarmangá (Σκαρμαγγά), a metókhí of three or four cottages, which is situated upon the isthmus of a peninsula projecting from the eastern shore of the bay of Eleusis, and which now gives name to this part of Mount Ægaleos, anciently called Corydalus from the demus to which it belonged. The ruins therefore at the entrance of the pass are probably those of the demus Corydalus. At some distance within the pass we find also the remains of a Hellenic fortress, which was evidently intended for the protection of this approach to Athens from the Eleusinian bay, and may have been a dependency of the same demus.

<sup>1</sup> It will be more convenient to consider the ancient names of these demi in connection with those of Paralia.

<sup>2</sup> Conf. Plutarch. Phoc. 22. Pausan. Attic. 37, 4. See below in Sect. IV.

### SECTION III.

#### *The Demi of Paralia and Mesogæa.*

PARALIA and Mesogæa occupied together all that portion of Attica which lay to the eastward of Hymettus, and to the southward of Brilessus. There is some reason to believe that in and after the reign of Vespasian, when Athens was governed by a strategus under the Roman proconsul, all the eastern portion of Attica, consisting of Diacria and Paralia, including probably Mesogæa, was governed by another strategus<sup>1</sup>.

Pausanias having been less particular with regard

<sup>1</sup> At Kalo-livádhi in *Diacria*, about midway between Rhamnus and Oropus, Mr. Finlay found the following inscription, Στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Παραλίαν Θαιχύριτος Ἀλκιμάχου Μυρρίνουσως, στεφανώθης ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἀνέθηκεν. On each side of this are remains of two inscriptions in smaller characters, and below them garlands of olive: they recorded the archonships under which the στρατηγὸς had been crowned. The following, which is the most perfect of the four, shows the form of them all, Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος στρατηγῆσαντα ἐπὶ Κλεομάχου ἄρχοντος.—Note of 1837.

to the topography of Attica than to that of the other provinces of Greece, making mention only of the demi which offered something remarkable in their mythology or local worship, we are under the necessity of trusting chiefly to Strabo for the arrangement of the *Paralian* demi; as to one important position on the coast to the eastward of Athens, he may however be corrected from Pausanias. The latter states Cape Colias and the temple of <sup>Colias.</sup> Venus, where the ships of the Persians were cast ashore after the battle of Salamis<sup>1</sup>, to have been twenty stades from Phalerum<sup>2</sup>; whereas Strabo places that temple at Anaphlystus towards Sunium. But Stephanus, who generally follows Strabo and the scholiast of Aristophanes, confirm the vicinity of Cape Colias to Phalerum<sup>3</sup>. It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that there is some defect in the text of Strabo; and that Colias was the promontory which is now called the Three Towers (τρεις Πύργοι), and where are still found some remains of the temple of Venus. This is precisely the part of the coast upon which vessels would be thrown by such a

<sup>1</sup> τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα τὴν καλομένην Κωλιάδα. Herodot. 8, 96.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπέχει δὲ καὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ἄκρα Κωλιάς· ἐς ταύτην, φθαρέντος τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ Μήδων, κατένεγκεν ὁ κλύδων τὰ ναυάγια. Pausan. Attic. 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Κωλιάς· ἄκρα ἦτοι Φαληροῦ ἀκτὴ, ὅπου καὶ Ἀφροδίτη Κωλιάς· ὃ δὲ τόπος οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐγκείμενος γάρ ἐστι (εἰς θάλασσαν) καὶ ὅμοιος ἀνθρώπου κώλῳ. Stephan. in v. V. et Phot. Lex., Hesych. in v. Suid. in Κωλιάδος κεραμῆες. Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg.

wind, as appears from Herodotus and Plutarch to have blown on the day of Salamis<sup>1</sup>. Disabled ships with a westerly wind could not have weathered Cape Zoster, had Colias been near Anaphlystus.

Colias was said by some to have taken its name from its resemblance to the human foot<sup>2</sup>: but other etymologies were also given<sup>3</sup>. Although chiefly noted for a temple sacred to Venus and the Genetyllides<sup>4</sup>, and for producing the best earth for making that pottery<sup>5</sup>, in which the Athenians so much excelled; it appears also to have been a place of considerable maritime commerce<sup>6</sup>: but there is no evidence of the Colii having been a demus, and Stephanus seems to show that they were within the limits of the Phalerenses<sup>7</sup>.

The angle of the bay on the western side of this promontory is the point where Athens is nearest to the sea-shore; the direct distance being no more than three geographical miles. Adjacent to the beach in this place, is a marsh or lagoon extending towards the city. It is called Mysía, apparently an ancient name, and which may have been derived from a temple of Ceres Mysia which stood here; for,

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. l. l. Plutarch. Themist. 14.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 51, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 52. Etym. M. in Κωλιάδος Ἀφροδίτης. Suid. l. l.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo, p. 398. Pausan. Attic. 1, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch. de Audit. 9.

<sup>6</sup> ἦν δὲ καὶ ναυκληρία. Phot. Lex. l. l.

<sup>7</sup> οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες Κωλίοι. Suid. l. l. According to Stephanus, Κολιεῖς or Κώλιοι.



there was a peripteral temple of Ceres at Colias<sup>1</sup>, and Mysia we know to have been an epithet of Ceres<sup>2</sup>.

The following is the order in which Strabo names the demi between the Peiræus and Sunium<sup>3</sup>. "On the coast beyond Peiræus, are the Phalærenses, then the Halimusii, the Æxonenses, the Halæenses of Æxone, the Anagyrasii, then the Thorenses, the Lamprenses, the Ægilienses, the Anaphlystii, the Azenienses. These are the demi as far as Sunium. Among them is the long Cape named Zoster, which is the first after the Æxonenses; then another, beyond the Thorenses, called Astypalæa. Before the former is the island Phaura, and before the latter Eleussa; near the Æxonenses is Hydrussa: not far from Anaphlystus is the Paneium and the temple of Venus Colias . . . . . the island Belbina lies in face of these places, and (that called) the rampart of Patroclus is near them. The greater part of these islands are uninhabited."

The names Halimus<sup>4</sup> and Halæ, although both Halimus. indicating a maritime situation, are distinguishable in their import; inasmuch as the former having been

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch. Solon. 8. Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπικωλιάδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, . . . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν αὐτόθι πολύστυλον. Hesych. in Κωλιάς.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. Corinth. 18, 3. 35, 3. Achaïc. 27, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Page 398.

<sup>4</sup> Halimus had the honour of being the demus of Thucydides the historian. The following, according to Marcellinus, was inscribed on his monument among the Cimonian sepulchres in Cœle : Θουκυδίδης Ὀρόλου Ἀλιμούσιος ἐνθαδε κεῖται.

derived from τὰ ἅλιμα<sup>1</sup>, (sea-weeds and deposits of the sea,) was probably situated on a part of the coast comparatively bold and projecting, whereas the latter name, pertaining to lagoons or salt-works, shows the place to have been on a low part of the coast. And this agrees with the position of Halimus deducible from Demosthenes, according to whom it was thirty-five stades from Athens<sup>2</sup>, or the same distance as Phalerum, which can only accord with a small projection of the coast, now called Cape Kallimákhi, at the back of which rises a small but conspicuous hill, crowned with a church of St. Cosmas (ἅγιος Κοσμάς). Kallimákhi may be a corruption of Halimus. Here Pausanias notices a temple of Ceres Thesmophorus and Core<sup>3</sup>.

Cape  
Zoster.

In order to follow the indications of Strabo with regard to the other demi of this coast, it is necessary to begin by identifying Cape Zoster. This promontory (or peninsula, as it is more correctly described by Stephanus<sup>4</sup>;) we find at the proportionate distance between Phalerum and Sunium, which the description of Strabo leads us to expect. It is the most projecting point of the shore, and opposite to it is a low cultivable island, now called Fleva or Flega, larger than any other on this part of the coast, and exactly corresponding to the ancient Phaura.

<sup>1</sup> Ἄλιμοῦς, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἁλίμων, — ἁλιμόεις καὶ ἁλιμοῦς . . . καὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάμνων Ῥαμνοῦς, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Etym. M. in v.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. c. Eubulid. p. 1302, Reiske.

<sup>3</sup> Attic. 31, 1.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰσθμός. Stephan. in Ζωστήρ.

At Zoster on the sea-side were altars of Minerva, Apollo Zosterius, Latona, and Diana, chiefly honoured by the sacrifices of fishermen<sup>1</sup>.

The hill of Zoster terminates in three capes; that in the middle is a low peninsula, which shelters on the west a deep inlet called Vuliasméni. This probably was the place where stood the altars of the four deities.

As Æxone and Halæ Æxonides stood between Halimus and Zoster, we may place the former at Asáni, a corruption perhaps of Æxone, and Halæ at Alikí; this name, as in the instance of Halæ Araphenides, being the ordinary Romaic form of Halæ, and derived from the salt-marshes (and formerly salt-works), which occupy a level behind a cape called Aghiá, and where are found numerous remains of an ancient town, and among them a lion in white marble<sup>2</sup>. The lagoon of Halæ is alluded to by Stephanus<sup>3</sup>.

Æxone,  
Halæ.

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 31, 1. Stephan., Hesych., Etym. M. in Ζωστήρ. Pausanias seems to place Zoster among the demi, but this is not confirmed by any other evidence, and is contrary to that of Strabo. The fish with which Athens was supplied, was chiefly procured on this part of the coast. The sea opposite Æxone was noted for its red mullet (τρίγλη), which is still caught there and known by the ancient name, though μπαρμπούρι is more commonly used, answering exactly to the γενειάτις of antiquity. See Sophron ap. Athen. 7, 21. p. 325, Cas.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Finlay found on a sepulchral stele at Vari . . . . .  
. . . . . λοδη . . . Ἀλαιεύς.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες καὶ Ἀλαὶ Λίξωνίδες ἑῆμοι . . . ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος τῆς Ἀραφηνίδος μεταξὺ Φηγέως τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνι καὶ Βραυρῶνος· αἱ δ' Λίξωνίδες ἐγγύς τοῦ ἁστίου. ἔστι δὲ λίμνη ἐκ θαλάσσης. Stephan. in v.

Trákhones, a village a mile and half from Asáni, on the road to Athens, was the position of another demus, but it was too far from the coast to have been among those enumerated by Strabo, and the name, although bearing some appearance of antiquity, does not resemble that of any known demus<sup>1</sup>.

The Cape of Halæ affords anchorage on either side to small vessels. Covering the southern bay is an island named Prasonísi, the Hydrussa of Strabo; and around Zoster, as well as in the great bay to the southward, are some smaller islands, apparently those from which the Persian ships are said to have fled after the battle of Salamis, mistaking them for Athenian ships<sup>2</sup>. At Tuvla, opposite to the island Prasonísi, on the shore of the bay included between the promontories of *Halæ* and *Zoster*, are some Hellenic remains, and others are traced in several places between that point and the Metókhí of Vari, as well as below this hamlet, as far as the shore of the bay of Vari. All these buildings probably were within the demus of Anagyrus<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Δράκονες* may be the true name, and derived like that of port *Peiræus*, from some colossal figures formerly existing there. Mr. Finlay informs me, that one of the heights of *Hymettus* above Trákhones, which has been quarried to the very summit, is now called Paní, and that upon one of its ridges are the remains of a temple. It was probably a *Πανεῖον*, or temple of Pan, whence the modern name of the mountain. Olympiodorus, in the life of Plato, (p. 1.) observes that his parents carried him to *Hymettus*, and sacrificed for him (*ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*) to Pan, Apollo Nomius, and the Nymphs.—Note of 1837.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 107.

<sup>3</sup> At Paleó Vari, between Tuvla and Vari, one of the compa-



and some pieces of columns *in situ* between Vari and the shore may have belonged to the Metroum noticed by Pausanias <sup>1</sup>.

On the southern side of the summit which terminates the *Hymettian* range, and distant from Vari about three miles by the road, is the cavern or Nymphæum of Archedemus, first described by Chandler. This cave appears, from the remaining niches, sculptures, and inscriptions, to have contained altars of the Graces, Apollo, Pan, and the terrene deities <sup>2</sup>, with basins cut in the rock for libations to them <sup>3</sup>. There is also a rude representation in relief, in a style of remote antiquity, of a man with an instrument in either hand. From an inscription found not far from the entrance of the cave, to the right, it would seem that the person thus represented was Archedemus of Pheræ, who being a Nympholept, or possessed by the Nymphs, fashioned the cavern at their instigation. The name is repeated six times in different parts of the cavern: some of the inscriptions are of a much later date than others, and two different dialects are employed, in one of which

nions of Chandler (Trav. c. 31) copied an inscription which contained the word Ἀναγυράσιος.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀναγυρασίοις δὲ μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερὸν. Pausan. Attic. 31, 1. Among the ruins at Vari are the remains of a colossal horse.

<sup>2</sup> To these Mr. Wordsworth adds Hersus, the god of vegetable increase. Athens and Attica, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> The Nymphæum of Ithaca is described as containing such basins:

Ἐν δὲ κρητῆρές τε καὶ ἀμφιφορῆες ἔασιν  
Λαίνοι. Od. 13, 105.

the name is Archedemus, in the other Archedamus<sup>1</sup>. The inscription first mentioned is of the later date, and consists of two verses<sup>2</sup> in the Attic dialect, which appear to have been added by some pious person who feared that the labours and memory of Archedemus might be obliterated by time<sup>3</sup>. The earlier inscriptions are probably contemporary with the rude figure of Archedemus, and are of a date prior to the introduction of the long vowels at Athens, and when H was used not for ἥρα, but for the aspirate<sup>4</sup>. The two dialects may be explained by the circumstance of Archedemus having been an alien of Pheræ, in Thessaly,

<sup>1</sup> The use of *a* for *η* by the Thessalians, is exemplified by many inscriptions found in that part of Greece. (See Travels in Northern Greece.) That Archedamus was a Thessalian, is proved by the coins of the Thessalian Pheræ, on which the name is always written ΦΕΡΑΙΩΝ, that is to say, in the same manner as the ΦΕΡΑΙΟΣ or ΦΗΡΑΙΟΣ of the cave of Vari. Whereas the towns of similar name in Messenia, Achaia, Bœotia, and Crete, were all written ΦΑΡΑΙ. Stephan. in Φαραί. Pausan. Messen. 3, 16. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Φηραῖος ὁ νυμφόληπτος  
φραδαῖσι Νυμφῶν τάντρον ἐξηργά.ατο.

In one place there is Ἀρχέδαμος ὁ Φηραῖος: in another  
Ἀρχέδημος  
Ἀρχέδαμος.

<sup>3</sup> We have an example of the same kind of repetition, arising probably from the same cause, in the celebrated boustrophedon of Sigeia.

<sup>4</sup> In one place in pro-Euclidian Attic letters we find Ἀρχέδεμος ὁ Φηραῖος καὶ Χολλείδες ταῖς Νύμφαις οἰκοῦόμεσε. In another, in the native Thessalian of Archidemus, Ἀρχέδαμος ὁ Φηραῖος κάπον Νύμφαις ἐφύτευσεν. Each of these appears to have been a verse, as we commonly find in similar documents, especially of early times. There was probably a garden in front of the cavern, or a few plants immediately below the last-mentioned inscription.

who, having been presented with the right of Attic citizenship, had been enrolled in the demus Cholleidæ; hence, he wrote his name, and recorded his work, as well in the dialect of Attica as in that of his native country. It is natural to suppose that Archedemus dedicated his Nymphæum within the demus to which he belonged, and we may infer, therefore, that Cholleidæ occupied this district.

Cape Astypalæa is indicated, like Zoster, by a considerable island lying near it, which Strabo has noticed; this island, the ancient Eleussa, is now called Lagonísi or Lágussa: the identity of the cape and island is further confirmed by the name of Anávyso (*Ἀνάβυσσος*) attached to a Metókhī where are the ruins of a demus, on the southern side of the cape; this being precisely the situation which Strabo ascribes to Anaphlystus in respect to Astypalæa, and *Ἀνάβυσσος* being plainly a corruption of *Ἀνάφλυστος*<sup>1</sup>. Xenophon moreover indicates sixty stades as the distance between Anaphlystus and Thoricus across the woody mountain which lies between them; and this is correctly the distance between Anávyso, and the ruins of Thoricus at Therikó<sup>2</sup>.

Cape Astypalæa.

Anaphlystus.

<sup>1</sup> By first shortening the double consonants, and then converting the *φ* into the kindred *β*, as in *Κηβησία* from *Κηφησία*. The accents are the same; always an important resemblance.

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon proposed the erection of a fortress on the highest part of the mountain, in order to complete the defence of the Suníac peninsula. *Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δῆπου περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν θαλάττῃ τεῖχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον τεῖχος ἐν Θορικῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑξήκοντα στάδια. Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ Βήσσης τρίτον ἔρυμα, συνήκουτ' ἂν τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἐν ἑξ*



Herodotus also mentions Anaphlystus and Thoricus as forming the boundaries of the Suniac angle of Attica<sup>1</sup>.

The three principal capes of this coast, Zoster, Astypalæa, and Sunium, being ascertained, we have to search for Anagyrus, Thoræ, Lampra, and Ægilia, between Zoster and Astypalæa; and for Azenia between Astypalæa and Sunium.

Lamptra.

Lampra, or rather Lamptra, (for so we find it written in demotic inscriptions,) seems to have preserved its name in Lamvriká, a village situated between three and four miles from the coast, at the south-eastern extremity of the Hymettian ridges. This place was distinguished by the name of *Λάμπτρα καθύπερθεν* or Upper Lamptra, from *Λάμπτρα ὑπένερθεν* or *παράλιος*, the Lower or maritime Lamptra, which occupied probably a valley situate two miles to the eastward of Vari. This valley indeed, according to the order of names in Strabo, would seem to have belonged to the Thorenses, but in placing Cape Astypalæa next to the Thorenses, he shows that he has not been particular in naming the places in their order. There is some appearance likewise, that in placing Zoster next to the Æxonenses, and Astypalæa next to the Thorenses, he adverted to

Thoræ.

ἀπάντων τῶν τειχῶν· καὶ εἴ τι ἀσθάνοιτο πολεμικόν, βραχὺ ἂν εἴη ἑκάστω εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρῆσαι. Xenophon de Vect. 4, 43. 44.

<sup>1</sup> . . . . . ὥς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νειμοῖατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μεχρὶ Ἀναφλύστου δήμου. Herodot. 4, 99. Scylax merely describes Anaphlystus as a fortress between Peiræus and Sunium. Scyl. p. 21, Hudson.



promontories at Halæ and Thoræ. The latter demus therefore stood perhaps at a small projection and bay midway between Vari<sup>1</sup> and Anáfyso. Ægilia may Ægilia. have been situated at Tzuréla, the site of a ruined village on the shore at the foot of Mount 'Elymbo. To the north of 'Elymbo, and between it and the vale of Kuvará, rises the highest of the *Paralían* summits. The western portion of it bears the same name as a part of *Hymettus*, namely Paní, the origin of which denomination is explained by a very beautiful and extensive cavern in the lime-stone rock, much celebrated among the modern inhabitants of Attica, and probably not less among the ancient Athenians, although no traveller has yet observed any remains of their works in the cavern<sup>2</sup>. It is doubtless the Paneium, or sanctuary of Pan, which Strabo describes as situated "somewhere about Anaphlystus<sup>3</sup>." The eastern part of the same mountain is called the mountain of Keratéa, from a village of that name, one of the largest in Attica, which occupies the valley on its north-eastern side.

Azenia having been the only demus mentioned by Azenia. Strabo between Anaphlystus and Sunium, seems to have occupied a narrow valley terminating in the western division of the bay, of which Sunium forms

<sup>1</sup> Vari seems to be a corruption of *Thoræ*, which has moved into the *Anagyrasia*.

<sup>2</sup> It is described in Hobhouse's Travels, Letter 27.

<sup>3</sup> Περὶ δὲ Ἀναφλυστόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ Πανεῖον . . . . Πρόκειται δὲ καὶ τούτων τῶν τόπων Βέλβινα νῆσος, οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν καὶ ὁ Πατρόκλου χάραξ· ἔρημοι δὲ αἱ πλείους τούτων· Κάμψαντι δὲ κατὰ τὸ Σούνιον ἄκραν, &c. Strabo, p. 398.

the eastern cape. The island now called Gaidharouísi, which lies a little to the westward of this bay, in face of Sunium, was evidently the island or rampart of Patroclus (Πατρόκλου νῆσος or Πατρόκλου χάραξ), the original name of which is not known: that reported by Strabo and Pausanias having been attached to it from the time only when Patroclus, commander of the ships of Ptolemy Philadelphus, built a fortress in it, during the operations which he carried on in this sea, in alliance with the Athenians, against Philip son of Demetrius, king of Macedonia<sup>1</sup>. The word χάραξ, changed by the usual Romaic change into χάρακα, has been transferred from the island to the adjacent shore of Attica, and to the bay included between them. Ten miles to the south of the island of Patroclus, in the entrance of the Saronic Gulf, is another island, very lofty and difficult of access; this is the ancient Belbina, now called St. George (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος).

Sunium.

Sunium occupied the southern promontory of Attica, now called, from the ruined temple on its summit, Cape Kolónnes (Κολόνναις). This promon-

<sup>1</sup> Σούνιον . . . . . πλέοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Λαυριών τέ ἐστι, ἔνθα ποτὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα καὶ νῆσος ἔρημος οὐ μεγάλη, Πατρόκλου καλουμένη· τεῖχος γὰρ ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ χάρακα ἐβάλλετο Πάτροκλος, ὃς τριήρεσιν ἐπέπλει ναύαρχος Αἰγυπτίαις, ἃς Πτολεμαῖος ὁ (Πτολεμαῖον) τοῦ Λάγου τιμωρεῖν ἔστειλεν Ἀθηναίοις ὅτε σφίσιν Ἀντίγονος ὁ Δημητρίου στρατιᾷ τε αὐτὸς ἐσβεβληκῶς ἔφθειρε τὴν χώραν καὶ ναυσὶν ἅμα ἐκ θαλάσσης κατεῖργεν. Pausan. Attic. 1, 1. Πατρόκλου νῆσος· ὡς Προκονήσιος, οὕτω Πατροκλονήσιος· παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Stephan. in v.

tory is lofty, steep, and rugged on every side, except the south-west, where is a beach and a small bay, with an island at the entrance. The temple stands on the extreme and highest point.

Sunium was one of the principal fortresses of Attica, but seems to have been unfortified until the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, or at least to have been at that time in a dismantled state; for we learn from Thucydides that a fortress was then erected for the purpose of securing the passage of the ships laden with provisions for Athens<sup>1</sup>. The entire circuit of the walls is traceable, except where the rock is so precipitous as to furnish a natural defence. These walls are constructed of the most regular kind of Hellenic masonry; were flanked with square towers, and enclosed a space of something more than half a mile in circumference. The temple was a Doric hexastyle; but none of the columns of the fronts remain. The original number of those in the flanks is uncertain; but there are still standing nine columns of the southern, and three of the northern side, with their architraves, together with the two columns and one of the antæ of the pronaüs, also bearing their architraves. The columns of the peristyle were 3 feet 4 inches in diameter at the base, and 2 feet 7 inches under the capital, with an intercolumniation below of 4 feet 11 inches. The height, including the capital, was 19 feet 3 inches. The exposed situation of the building has caused a great corrosion in the surface of the marble, which, like that employed in the

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. 8, 4.

buildings of Thoricus, was probably brought from the neighbouring mountains; for it is less homogeneous, and of a coarser grain, than the marble of Pentele. The walls of the fortress were faced with the same kind of stone. The entablature of the peristyle of the temple was adorned with sculpture, some remains of which have been found among the ruins. North of the temple, and nearly in a line with its eastern front, are foundations of the Propylæum or entrance into the sacred peribolus: it was about 50 feet long and 30 broad, and presented at either end a front of two Doric columns between antæ, supporting a pediment. The columns were 17 feet high, including the capital, two feet ten inches in diameter at the base, with an opening between them of eight feet eight inches. The situation of Sunium, as well as two passages in Aristophanes, would lead us to expect to find here some remains of a temple of Neptune<sup>1</sup>: but no traces of any third building are visible, and we must conclude, therefore, that here, as in the temple of Minerva Polias at Athens, Neptune was honoured only with an altar. There can be no doubt, as well from Pausanias as from the fact that Sunium was peculiarly sacred to Mi-

<sup>1</sup> Δεῦρ' ἔλθ' ἐς χορὸν, ὃ χρυσοτρίαιν', ὃ  
 δελφίνων μετέων Σουνιάρατε. Aristoph. Equit. v. 556.  
 Σουνιάρατε δὲ ᾧ ἐν τῷ Σουνίῳ ἄρῶνται καὶ εὐχονται. Schol.  
 ibid.

ὦ Σουνιέρακε χαῖρ' ἄναξ Πελαργικέ.

Aristoph. Av. v. 869.

ὦ Σουνιέρακε· ἐπεὶ περὶ ὀρνίθων ὁ λόγος, ἀντὶ τοῦ Σουνιάρατε.  
 Schol. ibid.



nerva, that the extant ruins are those of a temple of that deity<sup>1</sup>.

As Sunium partook of the fate of the rest of Attica at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, and must have been peculiarly exposed to the Persian fleet, any temple which may have existed at Sunium previously to that period could hardly have escaped the general destruction of the sacred buildings by the Persians. The present temple, therefore, was probably built in the same brilliant period of art intervening between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, (or about the middle of the fifth century before Christ,) when the Parthenon and the temple of the Rhamnusian Nemesis were also constructed.

The coast of Attica to the northward of Cape <sup>Mount</sup> Kolónnes is rugged and barren, and rises into hills, <sup>Laurium.</sup> covered for the most part with trees and brush-wood. The southern part of this ridge, which extends from the bay of Sunium to Thoricus, is the celebrated Mount Laurium, which furnished the greater part of the silver coined in large quantities in Attica during several centuries, but which was at

<sup>1</sup> λιμήν τε παραπλεύσαντι τὴν ἄκραν ἐστὶ καὶ ναὸς Ἀθηναῖς Σουνιάδος ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τῆς ἄκρας. Pausan. Attic. 1, 1.

Γενοίμαν,  
 ἵν' ὑλᾶεν ἔπειστι πόντου  
 πρόβλημ' ἀλίκλυστον, ἄκραν  
 ὑπὸ πλάκα Σουνίου,  
 τὰς ἱερὰς ὅπως προσεί-  
 ποιμ' ἂν Ἀθάνας. Sophocl. Aj. 1235.

ἦ τε Σουνίου  
 Δίας Ἀθάνας σῶς ὑπάργυρος πέτρα.  
 Euripid. Cyclops, 292.

last so much exhausted, that the old scoriæ were worked a second time. Of these scoriæ, and of the pits from whence the ore was taken, numerous remains still exist <sup>1</sup>.

Stuart has already recognised Laurium in its corruption Legraná or Alegraná<sup>2</sup>, a metókhi of the monastery of Mendéli, situated in the centre of the "Suniac angle <sup>3</sup>."

Besa.

The demus Besa received its name probably from the forest in which it stood, and appears from Xenophon to have been situated about midway between Anaphlystus and Thoricus<sup>4</sup>, thus corresponding exactly in position with the valley of Aghía Katerína, where a torrent which rises in the northern continuation of Mount *Laurium* flows longitudinally through these mountains, and joins the sea in the bay of Azenia.

Island  
Macris.

Parallel to Mount Laurium, and distant from two to four miles from the shore, lies the long narrow island

<sup>1</sup> The Athenians obtained silver from Laurium in the time of Peisistratus (Herodot. 1, 64). They divided the *Λαυριωτικὴ πρόσοδος* or profit of the mines among themselves, until Themistocles persuaded them to apply it to the expenses of the navy (Herodot. 7, 144. Plutarch. Themist. 4). It continued to be a part of the public revenue during the Peloponnesian war (Thucyd. 2, 55. 6, 91); but in the time of Xenophon, when the mines were farmed by private persons, it had greatly declined in productiveness (Xenoph. Memorab. 3, 6. § 12). In the time of Augustus, the mines were abandoned (Strabo, p. 399), and they continued in the same state under the Antonines. *Λαύριον, ἔνθα ποτὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἦν ἀργύρου μέταλλα* (Pausan. Attic. 1, 1).

<sup>2</sup> The first step of the corruption of *Λαύριον* i. e. into *Λάγριον* is like that of *Εὔριπος* into *Ἐγριπος*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 60. n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 59. n. 2.

anciently named Macris, or the island of Helena, and now Makronísi<sup>1</sup>. Its length, seven geographical miles, is considerably greater than Strabo attributes to it; but his description of it as rugged and deserted, is perfectly applicable, and it served probably for the pasture of cattle, as it does at present in common with many of the other uninhabited islands of Greece.

The coast to the northward of Sunium, although rocky and barren, abounds in sinuosities which furnish several good harbours. The principal of these are Porto Mandrí and Porto Rafti. The former was the harbour of Thoricus: the extent and commodiousness of the latter identify it with the Port of Prasias, from whence the Athenians maintained their sacred communications with Delos; an intercourse to which they attached particular importance, as well from religious as from commercial and political considerations. The name of

<sup>1</sup> Πρόκειται δὲ τῆς παραλίας ταύτης πρὸ μὲν τοῦ Θορικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σουνίου, νῆσος Ἑλένη, τροχεῖα καὶ ἔρημος, παραμήκης ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίους τὸ μῆκος. Strabo, p. 399. Νῆσοι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐ πόρρω τῆς χώρας εἰσίν· ἡ μὲν Πατρόκλου καλουμένη· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤδη μοι δεδήλωται· ἄλλη δὲ ὑπὲρ Σουνίου, τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐν ἀριστερῇ πλείουσιν· ἐς ταύτην ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ Ἰλίου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομά ἐστιν Ἑλένη τῇ νήσῳ. Pausan. Attic. 35, 1. ἑκαλεῖτο δὲ Μακρίς διὰ τὸ μῆκος. Stephan. in Ἑλένη. Strabo agrees with Pausanias, inasmuch as he supposes the island to have been named after Helene, wife of Menelaus; but, contrary to that author (Lacon. 22, 2), he applies the speech of Paris to Helene (Il. I'. 445), to this island; and adopts the tradition, that the name was changed from Cranaë to Helene, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν μίξιν. Homer assuredly meant Cranaë near Gythium.

*Prasiæ* still remains in that of Prasa, a small island in the southern division of the harbour, and its site is shown by some remains of antiquity on the adjacent shore.

Port  
Panormus.

About midway between Sunium and Thoricus is the harbour now called Panórimo, which thus answers both in name and situation to the Panormus placed by Ptolemy between Sunium and the temple of Minerva at Halæ Araphenides<sup>1</sup>.

Thoricus, besides its principal harbour of Porto Mandrí, had a sheltered creek on its northern side now called Vrysáki, or Frangó Limiónia, between which and Porto Rafti is another anchorage, named Dhaskalió. The latter corresponds to the port between Thoricus and Prasiæ, which received the Lacedæmonian fleet in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war<sup>2</sup>, but the particular name of which the historian has not recorded.

Strabo enumerates the demi on the eastern side of Attica after turning the Cape of Sunium as follows: Thoricus, Potamus, Prasia, Steiria, Brauron, Halæ Araphenides, Myrrhinus, Probalinthus, Marathon<sup>3</sup>: besides which there appears from Stephanus to have been a place called Phegeus, bordering on the Marathonian district<sup>4</sup>.

Thoricus.

Of these places Thoricus retains its ancient name unaltered, except by the change common both among the ancient and modern Greeks, of  $\sigma$  into  $\epsilon$ : it preserves also to this day considerable vestiges of that importance among the Attic towns which in

<sup>1</sup> Ptolem. Geogr. 3, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 398. 399.

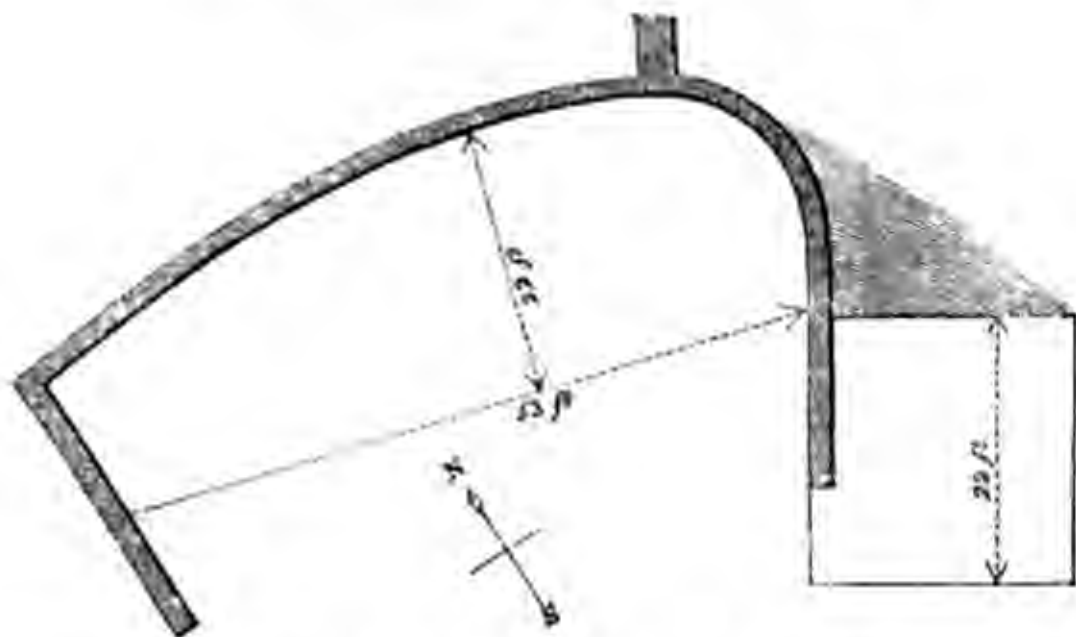
<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. 8, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Stephan. in 'Αλαί.



early ages made it one of the twelve cities, and which in the twenty-fourth year of the Peloponnesian war caused it to be fortified<sup>1</sup>. The remains of its fortifications are still to be seen at Therikó (Θερικό): they surrounded a small plain, which terminates in Porto Mandrí, and may be traced following the crest of the hills on the northern and southern sides of the plain, and crossing it on the west. A height rising above the small harbour of Frangó Limiόna, which is separated only by a cape from Porto Mandrí, seems to have served as an acropolis: below it, on the northern side, are the ruins of a theatre, of a singular form.

PLAN OF THE THEATRE OF THORICUS.



In the plain to the westward of this curious monument are the remains of a quadrangular colonnade, the length of which on the upper step of the stylobate was 105 feet, and the breadth 48

<sup>1</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. 1, 2, § 1.

feet. The columns are Doric, fluted only two or three inches at the top and bottom of the shaft. They are three feet four inches in diameter at the bottom, and a fourth part smaller at the top; the height, including the capital, was eighteen feet and a half. There were fourteen columns on the long sides of the building, and seven on the others. There is no appearance of any cella within the columns; and the only remains of the edifice *in situ* are the lower part of sixteen columns<sup>1</sup>: A widened intercolumniation in the middle of each of the long sides of the peristyle, and the remains of some columns within the area different from the exterior columns, seem to show that the edifice was a stoa in the agora of Thoricus, and, as would seem from the dimensions, a *ἑκατόμπεδος στοά*<sup>2</sup>. All the buildings of Thoricus, even the fortifications, some parts of which exist to a considerable height, were constructed of a coarse white marble from the neighbouring hills, similar to that employed at Sunium.

We may presume that although the demi of the eastern side of Paralia, mentioned by Strabo, touched the coast in some part of their respective districts, yet that some of the towns themselves, as well as some of those enumerated by the geographer on the

<sup>1</sup> For the drawings of this building, see the *Inedited Antiquities of Athens*, c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> According to the measurement of Mr. Bedford, the upper of the two steps of the stylobate, in the long side, was 104 feet eight inches and one-tenth: the corresponding line in the front or breadth of the Parthenon is, according to Stuart, 101 feet one inch and seven-tenths.

southern shore, may have been at a small distance in the interior <sup>1</sup>.

Potamus was celebrated for the sepulchre of Ion, <sup>Potamus.</sup> son of Xuthus<sup>2</sup>, and appears from history and ancient monuments to have been a place of some importance<sup>3</sup>. Dhaskalió was probably its harbour, and the demus itself we may place at the ruins named Paleókastro or Evreókastro, situated on a height surrounded by torrents two miles to the south-west of Port Dhaskalió, a little to the south of the village Dárdheza.

Steiria, following the order of names in Strabo, <sup>Steiria.</sup> stood between Prasiæ and Brauron. In fact, we find the remains of two demi on the shore of Porto Rafti; one on a peninsular height in the southern division of the bay, the other on a low point at the entrance of the north-western bay. The former we may presume to have been *Prasiæ*, the latter *Steiria*. Of these two demi, Steiria was probably the largest, as the main route from Athens to this great harbour was named the ὁδὸς Στειριακῇ. Plato mentions one of the Hipparcheian Hermæ, as having stood on the Steiriæ road <sup>4</sup>.

Stuart, judging from the modern name, placed <sup>Amphitrope.</sup> *Amphitrope* at Metropísti or Metropítzi, a village two miles to the south-west of Paleókastro.

<sup>1</sup> It is evident at the same time, that Strabo did not intend to name any but the maritime demi, as he adds, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ δήμους τῆς Ἀττικῆς μακρὸν εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. Attic. 31, 2.

<sup>3</sup> V. Meurs. de Pop. Att. in Πόταμος.

<sup>4</sup> Hipparch. 4.

Brauron.

If the two villages called Vraóna and Paleó Vraóna indicate the situation of the district of *Brauron*, the ancient town, having been not far from the sea, stood probably near the harbour which takes the name of Livádhi, from a marsh extending a mile inland, which receives the torrent of Vraóna, and at the head of which stands a church formed out of an ancient temple<sup>1</sup>. On the heights immediately above this place to the north-west, are considerable vestiges of an ancient town, sufficiently near the sea to justify the enumeration of Brauron among the maritime demi by Strabo, as well as the ἀγχιαλὸν Βραυρωνῶνα of Nonnus<sup>2</sup>. Here therefore we may place Brauron, and the temple at the head of the marsh may be that of Diana Brauronia, for Strabo clearly distinguishes this temple from that of Diana Tauro-polus at Halæ Araphenides<sup>3</sup>.

Prasiæ.

At Prasiæ there was a temple of Apollo, and the sepulchre of Erysichthon, son of Cecrops the first, who was said to have died here, on his passage from Delus, whither he had conducted the Theoria, or sacred commission<sup>4</sup>. The harbour of Prasiæ takes its modern name of Rafti from the remains of a colossal statue of white marble, seated on a chair, upon a steep conical island in the entrance of the harbour, and which is vulgarly supposed to bear some resemblance to a tailor (ράφτης) at work. The

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finlay found in this church a marble inscribed in archaic characters Κλειδῷ Ἀρτέ(μιδι) ἀνέθηκεν.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγχίαλον Βραυρωνῶνα, κενήριον Ἰφιγενείας. Dionys. 13, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Βραυρων, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Βραυρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν, καὶ Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ταυροπόλου. p. 399.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. Attic. 31, 2.



statue, which was originally about twelve feet high, is of a workmanship which appears to indicate the decline of the arts, and was probably that of a Roman emperor.

*Mesogæa*, being one of the most fertile parts of Attica, abounded with demi, as their vestiges still attest; and some of them we may presume to have been among the most important of Attica. Kera-<sup>Prospalta.</sup> téa, the chief modern village, appears from extant remains, and an inscription found among them, to have succeeded to *Prospalta*<sup>1</sup>. From stronger evidence *Myrrhinus* appears to have been at Méronda<sup>Myrrhinus.</sup> (Μέρροντα)<sup>2</sup>, which name is probably a corruption of Μυρρίνουντα. In this case, the name Myrrhinus will seem to have found place in the text of Strabo, instead of some other, as a maritime demus between Halæ and Probalinthus<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ (ὅπε)ῶνες τῷ Ἀσκληπίῳ ἀνέθισαν Προσπαλτίῳι Ἀγαθαῖος Ἀγαθάρχου, Κριτόφαντος Θεομνήμονος, Δεξιθεος Κριτοφάνου, Εὐνικός Θεομνήμονος, Θεόφαντος Θεογενίδου, Ἀμεινίας Ἀμειψίου, Θεομνήστης Θεογενίδου, Ἀγάθαρχος Ἀμειψίου, Λύτοκλῆς Ἀγαθαίου, Δεινίας Διφιλίδου, and several other names not legible. Copied by Mr. Finlay at Μεγάλη Αὐλὴ near Keratéa. The former name coupled with the inscription seems to indicate that here stood a temple of Æsculapius. Pausanias, however, notices only a temple of Demeter and Core at Prospalta.

<sup>2</sup> See Boeckh (Ins. Gr. Nos. 100, 490). In the former inscription, mention is made of a temple of Diana Colænis, whose worship at Myrrhinus is noticed by Pausanias (Attic. 36, 1), and by the Scholiast of Aristophanes (Av. 874). Mr. Finlay found at Méronda an inscription in fifty-five lines, but so much obliterated that he could distinguish little more than ὁ Μυρρίνουσιος in the middle of it.

<sup>3</sup> Phegeus appears from Stephanus (in Ἀλαί) to have been in this situation.

Agnus.

An inscription found at Markópulo gives the presumption that it occupied the site of Agnus<sup>1</sup>, and the modern importance of the situation is well suited to a demus, the name of which occurs frequently in the ancient authorities. It may indeed be alleged that the letters of Alciphron give reason, in two places, to suppose that Agnus was much nearer to Athens<sup>2</sup>, and that the story of Leos the Agnusian herald, who betrayed the stratagem of Pallas to Theseus, in consequence of which the Pallantidæ were surprised at Gargettus, and a lasting enmity followed between the Pallenenses and Agnusii, favours the opinion that Agnus was near Gargettus and Pallene. These arguments, however, are

<sup>1</sup> . . . . υλίδης Ἀγνούσιος. Copied by Mr. Finlay at Markópulo.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπεκωμάσαμεν Δεξιμάχῳ κατὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν στενωπὸν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγνον κατιόντι πλησίον τῆς Μενέφρονος οἰκίας. 1, 39. ἴθι λαβὼν τὴν σύριγγα καὶ τὰ κύμβαλα ἦκε περὶ πρώτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσοῦν στενωπὸν τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγνον, ἔνθα συμβαλεῖν ἡμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἔξισται καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ Σκίρου λαβοῦσι Κλυμένην τὴν ἑταῖραν ἄγειν παρὰ τὸν νεόπλουτον Θηριππίδην τὸν Λίξωνία. 3, 8. Here we may observe, 1. That the word is Ἀγνος, not Ἀγνοῦς, οὔντος, which was the name of the demus. 2. That the place alluded to seems plainly to have been in the suburbs of Athens, like Scirus, another resort of such ladies as are supposed to have written these letters. (ἐν δὲ τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ αἱ πόρναι ἐκαθέζοντο. Stephan. in Σκίρος.) The place intended seems indeed to have been not far from Scirus, which was about a mile from Dipylum on the Sacred Way (see below in section IV). But most probably, the printed text of Alciphron is erroneous in both places: for in one the Vatican MS. has ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν instead of ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγνον (see Alciph. Epist. Wagner, II. p. 36): the true reading in both instances, therefore, seems to have meant nothing more than "Golden Lane, leading into the fields."

not decisive. The authority of the imaginary epistles is very slight; and there is nothing in the position of Markópulo at variance with the story of Leos.

A sepulchral inscription near Karéla records the Pæania. name of a demotes of Pæania <sup>1</sup>, and another has been found at Spata <sup>2</sup>, the supposed site of *Sphettus*, which is about three miles distant. Upper and lower Pæania were probably therefore in this vicinity, but the numerous remains of antiquity along this side of Hymettus render it difficult to fix the exact position. Kokhla, where are seen the remains of the statue of a colossal sheep, and Kursaládhēs were also the positions of demi, and Velanidhéza towards the eastern coast above the site of *Halæ Araphenides* <sup>3</sup>. This may possibly be the site of Philaidæ, which demus appears to have been not Philaidæ. far from Brauron, as Philæus son of Ajax, from whom the demus was named, dwelt in Brauron <sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Τιμοκλῆς Ναυσικλήου Παιανιεύς. Copied by Mr. Finlay near Karéla.

<sup>2</sup> Δημόφιλος . . ημεο Παι(ανιεύς). Copied by Mr. Finlay at Spata. Names compounded of Δῆμος were common in Pæania; among them was that of Demosthenes the orator.

<sup>3</sup> Here a stele has lately been found, on one side of which is a bas relief in archaic style, representing a bearded hoplita with a staff or spear in his left hand. Below is ἔργον Ἀριστοκλέος, and on a basis Ἀριστίωνος. The form of the γ, λ, ε, is Α Λ Ε. This Aristocles seems to be the same, who was the maker of a dedication, of which the basis exists at Gheráki near Kharváta. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 23. He lived in the beginning of the fifth century B. C., and his son Cleætas was one of the great artists of the age of Pericles. Pausan. Attic. 24, 3. Eliac. post. 20, 7.—Note of 1839.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. Solon. 10.

and Diana was known to the Philaidæ by the name of Brauronia<sup>1</sup>.

Cephale,  
Deiras.

A presumption of vicinity may be deduced from two other demotic inscriptions found in the Mesogæa, one of which recorded the name of a demotes of Cephale<sup>2</sup>, the other of Deiras or the Deiradiotæ<sup>3</sup>.

Of the former, the exact position may perhaps be determined by remains of the temple of the Great Gods, as the Dioscuri were entitled by that demus<sup>4</sup>. The Deiradiotæ would seem, from the name, to have been situated in a pass or hollow between two heights.

Papa Angheláki, a village at the north-eastern extremity of *Hymettus*, may possibly be the site of *Angele*.

Remains of ancient buildings have been observed at 'Etosi, a metókhí in the hills between Pikérmi and Rafína; and others near the mouth of the river of Rafína: the latter may have been no more than a maritime dependency of *Araphen*.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Av. 874, where for Φιλιᾶραι read Φιλαῖδαι. Filiáti or Filiátes is a name found in many parts of Greece, and the mistake therefore occurred easily to the Scholiast.

<sup>2</sup> A name followed by Κεφαλῆθεν was copied among some ruins near the Vraónes by Professor Ross of Athens.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . . αρίου Δειραδιώτης. Copied by Mr. Finlay at Keratéa.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. Attic. 31, 1.



## SECTION IV.

### *The Demi of Diacria and Mount Parnes.*

PROCEEDING beyond the Paralia along the eastern coast of Attica from south to north, the demi which occurred, according to the enumeration of Strabo, were Probalinthus, Marathon, Tricorythus, Rhamnus<sup>1</sup>. Of these, Probalinthus, Marathon, and Tricorythus, with the addition of another place named Cenoë, formed the Tetrapolis,—one of the twelve districts into which Attica was divided until the time of Theseus,—where Xuthus, son-in-law of Erechtheus, is reported to have ruled before that period, and where the Heracleidæ obtained refuge when expelled from the Peloponnesus. Its name we may presume to have been derived from the equality of the four comæ which formed it, differing in this from the other eleven districts, in each of which there was a single commanding city. After the reform of Theseus, the name of Tetrapolis fell into disuse: the four places which composed it became Attic demi; and Marathon obtained so great a superiority over the three others, that the whole district became generally

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 399.

known by that name<sup>1</sup>. The application of a single denomination to this portion of Attica in every age, arose from the distinctness of its natural boundaries, which are the sea, and on the opposite side the heights of Brilessus and Diacria, which inclose on every side the plain of Marathon and the valleys branching from it, and which send forth roots, extending to the sea, and bounding the bay of Marathon to the north and south. The principal shelter is afforded by a long rocky promontory on the north, now known by the name of Stomi, and anciently, as appears from Hesychius, by that of Cynosura<sup>2</sup>. To the south, the extremities of the mountains meet the sea at the end of a narrow maritime plain three miles in length, which branches from that of Marathon, and they fall so gradually as to present no very defensible impediment to the communication between the Marathonian and the Mesogæa.

Towards the interior the plain branches off into valleys, each of which terminates in a pass leading over the rocky heights which close the Marathonian basin in that direction. In the southern of these two valleys stands the small village of Vraná (Βρανὰς), situated on a height at the foot of Mount Aforismó ('Αφορισμός), one of the minor summits of

<sup>1</sup> Ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι is the expression applied by the Greek writers of every age, from Herodotus to Pausanias, to indicate every part of the Tetrapolitan district and shore. "The parts of Marathon about Cenoë," (Μαραθῶνος τὰ περὶ τὴν Οἰνόνην,) is an expression of Lucian. (Icaro-Menip. 18.)

<sup>2</sup> Κυνόσουρα, φυλὴ Λακονικὴ, καὶ ἄκρα τοῦ Μαραθῶνος πρὸς τὴν Εὐβοίαν τετραμμένη, καὶ πᾶς χερσοειδὲς τόπος. Hesych. in Κυνόσουρα. V. et Phot. Lex. in v.

*Brilessus*, and which, like Argalíki (Ἀργαλήκι), a similar summit to the south-east of the former, is covered with woods of pine, intermixed with a few other trees. In the northern valley are the hamlets of Seféri (Σεφέρι) and Bei (Μπέη), near its entrance, and higher up Marathóna (Μαραθῶνας), the largest village in the district. These two valleys are separated from one another by a hill called Kotróni (Κοτρώνη), very rugged, but of no great height. To the north and north-east the plain extends to the distance of between two and three miles from the shore; but the northern portion is separated from the rest by a large marsh, which extends from the rocks of Cape *Cynosura* to Mount Koráki or Stavrokoráki (Σταυροκοράκι), a round naked rocky height, which rises abruptly to a considerable elevation from the northern side of the plain, leaving only a narrow passage between its slope and the edge of the marsh. At the entrance of this vale, a little within the pass, stands the hamlet of Lower Súli (Κάτω-Σούλι). Upper Súli is a larger village on the adjacent mountain, in the road leading to Grammatikó. There are four passes leading out of the Marathonian district; one, into the Mesogæa, along the narrow plain already mentioned, and across an extremity of Mavronóro, which is the south-eastern summit of the *Brilessian* mountains; a second, from Vraná, over Mount Aforismó to lower Stamáta, and thence into the northern part of the plain of Athens; a third, from the extremity of the vale of Marathóna, over a prolongation of the same mountain to the upper valley of the torrent of Marathon, or district of *Aphidna*; the fourth, from the plain of Suli into the territory of *Rhamnus*, through a narrow opening in

the rocky hills, which terminate seaward in Cape Cynosura.

Three places in the Marathonian district particularly retain vestiges of ancient demi. These are—  
 1. Vraná. This place is situated on a height fortified by the circuitous ravine of a torrent, which descends from the elevated vale of Rapendósia situated between *Pentelicum* and Argalíki: this torrent is generally lost in the centre of the great plain, which it sometimes inundates, and may then reach the marsh adjacent to the sea-shore in the southern part of the bay. A little below Vraná are seen four artificial tumuli of earth, one considerably larger than the others; and in a pass at the back of the hill of Kotróni, which leads from the vale of Vraná into that of Marathóna, there are some remains of an ancient gate. This gate stands exactly in the hollow, which formed a natural passage for the ancient road, leading from the demus in the former valley to that which occupied the latter; and appears to have been connected with the foundations of a rude wall, five feet in thickness, which are traced for near three miles in circumference, enclosing all the upper part of the valley of Vraná, together with a part of the foot of Mount Aforismó at the back of that village. These ruins are now known by the name of ἡ μάνδρα τῆς γραιίας (the old woman's sheepfold). At my first visit to Marathon, in the year 1802, I observed the remains of three statues at the ruined gate; and I could decipher the words **OMONOIA AΘANATH**, and **ΠΥΛΗ**, upon two of its fragments. From Mr. Fauvel I learnt that the inscription, when more complete, had been as follows:—



ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΗΣ  
ΠΥΛΗ  
ΗΡΩΔΟΥ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ  
ΕΙΣ ΟΝ ΕΙΣΕΡΧ

The attachment of Atticus Herodes to his native demus Marathon<sup>1</sup>, as well as to Cephisia, has been recorded by Philostratus<sup>2</sup>; who further states that Herodes displayed extraordinary marks of grief for the loss of three favourite servants, who had been educated by him, and to whom he had given the names of Achilles, Memnon, and Pollux (Πολυδέυκης); that he placed statues of them in the character of hunters in the fields and woods, and at the fountains; and that he engraved inscriptions in memory of them, in which curses were imprecated upon those who should injure the statues<sup>3</sup>. It seems evident, therefore, that the three statues at the gate between Vraná and Inói represented these three favourites of Herodes.

One of the inscriptions of Herodes, in honour of

<sup>1</sup> The following inscription, found at Athens, and showing that Herodes was enrolled in the demus of Marathon, was published by Spon and Chandler. Τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν Τιβ. Κλαύδιον Ἀττικὸν Ἡρώδην Μαραθῶνιον ἡ Ἀντιοχίς φυλὴ ἀνέθηκεν εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Μετὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ Παιωνίᾳ, διητᾶτο μὲν ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ παρὰ τοὺς φιλτάτους ἑαυτῷ δῆμους Μαραθῶνα καὶ Κηφησίαν. Philost. Sophist. 2, 1. § 12.

<sup>3</sup> εἰκόνας γοῦν ἀνετίθει σφῶν θηρώντων τε καὶ τεθηρακότων καὶ θηρασόντων· τὰς μὲν ἐν ὄρυμοις, τὰς δ' ἐπ' ἀγροῖς, τὰς δὲ πρὸς πηγαῖς, τὰς δὲ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς πλατάνων, οὐκ ἀφανῶς, ἀλλὰ ξὺν ἀραις τοῦ περικύψοντος ἢ κινήσοντος. Ibid. § 10. V. et Lucian Demonax. 24. 33.

Polydeucion, (for this appears from the inscription to have been the real name,) was found upon a headless Hermes, in a ruined church at Kivisiá, about the year 1750, by Mr. Dawkins, who presented it to the University of Oxford<sup>1</sup>. Chandler informs us, that Wood, the companion of Dawkins, saw another marble relating to the same subject at Kivisiá, and a third at Suli, near Marathon<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is curious for its exact conformity with the words of Philostratus : it is curious also, as a specimen of the affected style of the chief patron of Athenian literature under the Antonines ; and as a proof, therefore, of the declining taste of that age : "Ἡρως Πολυδευκίων· ταῖσδ' ἐποτ' ἐν τριώδοις σὺν σοὶ ἐπιστριφόμην· πρὸς θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων, ὅστις εἴ ὁ ἔχων τὸν χῶρον, μήποτε μετακινήσῃς τούτων τι· καὶ τὰς τούτων τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰκόνας καὶ τειμάς ὅστις ἢ καθέλοι ἢ μετακεινοίῃ, τούτῳ μήτε γῆν καρπὸν φέρειν μήτε θάλασσαν πλωτὴν εἶναι, κακῶς τε ἀπολείσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος. "Ὅστις δὲ κατὰ χώραν φυλάττων καὶ τειμῶν τὰ εἰωθότα, καὶ αὖξων διαμένοι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι τούτῳ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις· λυμήνασθαι δὲ μηδὲ λωβήσασθαι μηδὲν, ἢ ἀποκροῦσαι ἢ συνθραύσαι ἢ συνεχίαι τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τοῦ σχήματος· εἰ δέ τις οὕτω ποιήσει, ἢ αὐτὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀρά. On another side of the same marble : "Ἄλλ' ἐᾶν τὰ τε ἐπιθέματα τῶν μορφῶν ἀσινῇ καὶ ἀκέραια καὶ τὰ ὑποστήματα τὰς βάσεις, ὥς ἐποιήθησαν, καὶ ἐν πρώτῳ γε καὶ ἐπὶ πρώτοις, ὅστις ἢ προστάξειεν ἑτέρῳ ἢ γνώμης ἄρξειεν ἢ γνώμῃ συμβάλοιτο περὶ τοῦ τούτων τι ἢ κεινηθῆναι ἢ συνχυθῆναι. Marm. Oxon. II. 60. p. 107. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 989.

<sup>2</sup> Marm. Oxon. II. p. 13. Chandler's Travels in Greece, c. 34. Fourmont copied the inscriptions on the two marbles, which Chandler mentions. They are fragments, and, when complete, appear to have been mere repetitions of the inscription which is at Oxford. One of these, like that marble, had two inscriptions on the same stone. A fourth fragment copied by Fourmont at Suli has the following words :

Πολυδευκίωνα, ὃν ἀνθ' υἱοῦ Ἰστερξεν· καὶ ἐνθάδε Ἡρώδης με

As the gate appears to have been an entrance into the enclosed space of ground which I have described, at the head of the valley of Vraná, there can scarcely be any doubt that the wall of this enclosure is the work of Herodes, and that the space which it comprehends is that district of Herodes (Ἡρώδου ὁ χώρος) which was alluded to as well in the inscription upon the gate, as in that which has been published in the Oxford marbles. It would seem from the words of Pliny that Marathon no longer existed as a town or village a century before the time of Herodes<sup>1</sup>. So that the site and all around it may have been the private property of Herodes. His intention in enclosing so large a piece of ground is not very apparent: the words εἰς ὃν εἰσερχόμενος show that the inscription contained some injunctions to those who entered the inclosure. We are told by Philostratus that Herodes died at Marathon; that he had directed his freedmen to bury him there, but that the Ephebi of Athens transported his body on their shoulders to the city, and that he was interred in the Panathe-

ἔθηκεν, ὅτι ἐνθάδε καὶ περὶ θήραν εἶχον. A fifth fragment, copied by the same French traveller, at Markópulo, contained also the name of Polydeucion; and a sixth, at Kífisía, appears to have supported a statue of the same favourite of Herodes, erected by a woman named Poseidalcía, the words on it being, Πολυδευκίωνα Ποσειδάλκία τὸν φίλτατον τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ ἑαυτῇ. A seventh fragment, copied by M. St. Martin at Rhamnus, and much better in 1832 by Mr. Wordsworth, (Athens and Attica, p. 37.) is a dedication of Polydeucion to Nemesis, by Herodes, ὁ θρέψας καὶ φιλήσας ὡς υἱόν. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. 990—995.

<sup>1</sup> Rhamnus pagus, locus Marathon. Plin. H. N. 4, 7 (11).

naic stadium, one of the great monuments of his munificence.

Three quarters of a mile to the south-east of the Tumuli of Vraná, at a spot where a torrent from the summit of Mount Argalíki enters the plain, there is a rising ground, upon which are the traces of a Hellenic wall, comprehending a quadrangular space of small dimensions, and apparently the peribolus of a temple belonging to the demus which stood at Vraná.

There are also the remains of an ancient road over-against this spot, at the foot of the hill of Kotróni.

Below these two points, the plain expands to the shore of the bay, which is near two miles distant from the opening of the valley of Vraná. It is moderately well cultivated with corn, and is one of the most fertile spots in Attica, although rather inconveniently subject to inundations from the two torrents which cross it, particularly that of Marathóna. Lucian, in a passage already cited, alludes particularly to the fertility of the lands near *Ænoë*<sup>1</sup>, and an Egyptian poet of the fifth century has celebrated the vines and olives of Marathon<sup>2</sup>. It is natural to suppose that the vineyards occupied the rising grounds; and that the olive-plantations were chiefly situated in the two valleys, in which some olive-trees are still growing: for, as to the plain itself,

<sup>1</sup> Icaro-Menip. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ τέμενος βαθύδενδρον ἐλαιοκόμου Μαραθῶνος. Nonni Dionys. 13, 184.

Βότρυς ἐλαιήειςτος ἐφοινίχθη Μαραθῶνος. Id. 47, 18.



the circumstances of the battle incline one to believe that it was anciently as destitute of trees as it is at the present day.

2. Another of the four demi of the Tetrapolis stood at the head of the valley of Marathóna, where are several dispersed vestiges of Hellenic buildings near a fine source of water, which is carried by an artificial channel to a mill on the banks of the river or torrent of Marathóna, and from thence across that torrent to the village of Marathóna, where it is consumed in the gardens or for domestic uses, the torrent itself being often in a state insufficient or unfit for such purposes. The spot where the fragments of antiquity are seen is called Inói<sup>1</sup>, which being precisely the same sound as that of Oivón according to Romaic pronunciation and accent, shows that here was situated Ænoë, one of the four demi of the district.

There were two demi of the name of Ænoë in Attica; one near Eleutheræ, of the tribe Hippothoontis; the other at Marathon, belonging to the Æantis<sup>2</sup>.

A story relating to one of these demi gave rise to the Attic proverb of Οἶναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν, or Οἶνόν τὴν χαράδραν. It was said that the people of Ænoë

<sup>1</sup> Chandler (c. 36) heard something of this name; but he has erroneously written it Nonói, instead of Ninói; for as to the initial N, that can hardly be considered a mistake, being the final letter of the word στήν (εἰς τὴν) adhering to the ancient name. Thus Icaria has now become Nikaría. The ancient name, however, of the Marathonian demus, has not undergone this corruption; the natives being perfectly aware that the name of the place is not Νουρόν, but Οἶνόν.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 375. Harpocr. in Οἶνόν.

diverted the course of a torrent for the purpose of watering their lands, but that the torrent suddenly swelling caused great damage<sup>1</sup>; whence the proverb was applied to those who bring misfortunes upon themselves, in obtaining supposed advantages, or to such as inflict injuries under the intention or pretence of beneficence.

Cenoë near Eleutheræ could not have been the place alluded to in the proverb, having been situated upon a lofty height, inaccessible to any inundation. It referred, therefore, to the Marathonian Cenoë; nor could there be any place more exposed to such accidents, than the demus which stood at the head of the narrow valley of Marathóna; for it was situated near a torrent still noted for the quantity of water which is sometimes brought down by it, and for the mischief caused by its occasional impetuosity. In the autumn of 1805, the torrent carried away some of the houses of the village of Seféri, and destroyed cattle and corn-fields in the great plain below<sup>2</sup>.

The retired situation of Cenoë, at the extremity of the valley of Marathóna, accounts for its omission by

<sup>1</sup> Demon. ap. Hesych. in *Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν*. V. et Suid. in *Οἰνότη τὴν χ.* 'Ο Καρπάθιος τὸν λαγῶον, was a similar proverb (Suid. *ibid.*); the people of Carpathus having introduced hares into their island, which were before unknown there, the hares devoured all the produce of their fields.

<sup>2</sup> Soon afterwards I found the appearance of this village quite altered from that which it had presented to me on two former visits to Marathon; some of the houses had disappeared, and new buildings had been erected on an eminence on the opposite bank of the river.

Strabo, who, in enumerating the demi near the coast, might naturally neglect a place on the extreme verge of the Marathonian district, not in sight from the shore, and four miles distant from it.

3. The third place where we find the manifest remains of an ancient demus, is in the plain of Suli, upon an insulated height not far from the pass which leads to Ovrió-kastro, the ancient Rhamnus. These appear to be the ruins of Tricorythus, or Tricorinthus: for the plain of Suli being separated from the great plain of Marathon by the marsh, at the same time that it communicates with that plain by the pass of Kato Suli, and is included within the same theatre of mountains, was evidently one of the four divisions of the Tetrapolis or Marathonian district: and the situation agrees exactly with the order of the maritime demi in Strabo, where Tricorythus immediately precedes Rhamnus. From Aristophanes and Suidas, it appears that Tricorythus was tormented by gnats from a neighbouring marsh<sup>1</sup>. In the summer the inhabitants of Lower Suli are driven by this plague and the bad air into the upper village of the same name.

The order of names in Strabo having been found

<sup>1</sup> . . . . ἐμπίς ἐστιν ἡδὴ Τρικουρυσία. Aristoph. Lysist. 1032. 'Εμπίς' Κώνωπι ποραπλήσιον ζῴδιον παρὰ τοῖς ὕδασι γινόμενον, ὁμοιον κώνωπι, μεῖζον δὲ τῇ περιοχῇ καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον λευκῷ περιζωσμένον. λέγεται ἐμπίς Τρικουρυσία, ὡς ἐν Τρικορίνθῳ πολλῶν ἐμπίδων γινομένων, ἔστι γὰρ ἀλσώδης καὶ κάθυγρος ὁ τόπος. Suid. in ἐμπίς.

Callimachus, in a fragment (ap. Suid. in Μαραθῶν), gives to Marathon the epithet of ἐννότιος, which Suidas explains by κάθυγρος. The Scholiast of Plato (in Menexen. 10) describes Marathon as ἀπέχων τῶν Ἀθηνῶν σταδίους τριακοσίους, τῇ φύσει τραχύς, εὐσιππαστος, ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πηλοῦς, τεύαγην, λίμνας.



correct through a large proportion of the Attic coast, or from Phalerum to the Marathonian, we may fairly presume that Probalinthus, the first demus of the Tetrapolitan district named by him, occupied the southern extremity of the Marathonian plain, where a narrow branch of it stretches, as already stated, along the foot of the Brilessian range, and separates it from the sea-shore. The position of this demus was probably determined by some sources at the foot of Mount Argalíki<sup>1</sup>, which collecting in the plain form a marsh, occasionally augmented by the torrent of Vraná, and having a discharge by a rivulet into the sea. A little above this discharge is a small rising ground in the marsh, now called τὸ νησί (the island), in which I found several cippi or sepulchral columns standing in a certain regular order, together with the remains of a sarcophagus, the fragments of a female statue seated in a chair, some shafts of columns, and a Corinthian architrave. Here also have been discovered some highly finished busts of Socrates, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, and of a fourth person, who, from these companions, was judged to have been Herodes Atticus<sup>2</sup>. These remains, together with the nature and situation of the place, render it probable that the Probalisii had here a temple, which had perhaps been repaired and decorated by Herodes. It may possibly have been the temple of Minerva Hellotis ;

<sup>1</sup> Not far from hence Mr. Finlay found a fragment inscribed with two names, and ΑΙΣΙΟΣ, the termination apparently of Προβαλίσσιος.

<sup>2</sup> Catal. d'Antiq. de feu M. le C. de Choiseul Gouffier, par Dubois.



which epithet of the goddess is said to have been derived from the marsh of Marathon, where the temple was built <sup>1</sup>.

If the situations of *Ænoë*, *Tricorythus*, and *Probalinthus*, can be considered as determined, it will follow that Marathon must have been at *Vraná*, notwithstanding that the modern name of *Marathóna* is found in a different situation; for it is impossible to suppose that two of the demi of the *Tetrapolis* should have stood in the narrow valley of the *Charadra*, or torrent of *Marathóna*, and so near to each other as are *Marathóna* and *Inói*.

It may be objected perhaps, that if we suppose the name of Marathon to have moved from the valley of *Vraná* to that of the modern *Marathóna*, it may just as fairly be supposed that the name of *Ænoë* may not now be attached to the site of the ancient demus of that name, but may have been removed into its present situation from the town which stood at *Vraná*; in other words, that the modern name *Marathóna* ought to be considered as good an evidence of the ancient position of Marathon, as that of *Inói* is of *Ænoë*. But the cases are not exactly parallel. *Inói* never appears to have been a village in modern ages, but only a name attached to some ruins and to the surrounding fields. According to Pliny, *Ænoë* no longer existed in his time <sup>2</sup>; which may account for its not being men-

<sup>1</sup> Ἑλλώτια . . . τὴν προσαγορίαν ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι φασὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔλους, ἐνθα ἱδρύεται. Schol. Pindar. Olymp. 13, 56. V. et Etymol. M. in Ἑλλωτίς.

<sup>2</sup> Fuere et *Ænoa* et *Probalinthus*, quæ nunc non sunt. Plin. H. N. 4, 7 (11).

tioned by Pausanias. From the age of Herodotus to that of Pausanias, the whole district of Tetrapolis was generally known by the name of Marathon: we may easily conceive, therefore, that when Marathon and Œnoë had ceased to exist, while the former name continued to be applied to the district, that name might, in process of time, be specifically attached to whatever situation the inhabitants might prefer for their town or village. In the mean time a new settlement, with the Slavonic name of Vraná<sup>1</sup>, may have been made upon the site of the ancient Marathon by a Slavonian colony in the ages when that people occupied many parts of Greece. It is proper to observe also, that even in the present day the name Marathóna comprehends not only the village specifically so called, but also Bei, Seféri, and generally the whole district.

Vraná is undoubtedly the place which a traveller accustomed to contemplate the sites of Grecian towns would fix upon as the most probable position for the

<sup>1</sup> With the exception of this name, and those perhaps of Bei and Seféri, all the modern names of the Marathonian district are of Greek origin: as, Ἀργαλήκι, Ἀφορισμός, Σοῦλι, Στόμι, Σταυροκοράκι, Σορός. The name Σοῦλι occurs frequently in Greece, and appears from the instance of the celebrated Suli of Epirus, which is derived from the Selli of Homer, to be a vestige of the most ancient and most generally received name for the whole of Greece, namely Ἑλλάς. Of the three hamlets of Vraná, Seféri, and Bei, the largest (Vraná) has only twelve cottages. This name (meaning fortress) may date from about the tenth century, when the greater part of the Bulgarian settlements in Greece occurred. Seféri (battle), and Bei, seem to be Turkish words, and consequently of more recent origin, unless the former be a corruption of Ζεφύρι.

chief place of the Marathonian district. Backed by a woody mountain, naturally fortified by the torrent which half surrounds it, commanding the direct passes into the plain of Athens, looking down upon the central part of the plain and bay of Marathon, and placed at a sufficient distance from the sea to be safe from a surprise on that side, it embraces all the requisites which the early Greeks usually sought for in the positions of their towns. There is no other situation in this district which combines those advantages; and in no other are there any of those artificial tumuli, which in Greece are generally found in the vicinity of the site of a place that flourished in a very distant age<sup>1</sup>, and which in this instance, therefore, seem to indicate Vraná as the position of the ancient capital of the Marathonian district. If the wall which enclosed the upper part of the valley of Vraná was the work of Herodes, we can hardly imagine that he erected it any where but at Marathon itself, his favourite demus, in which he resided and was enrolled.

On the other hand, if we suppose Marathon to have stood in the valley of the modern Marathóna, it will be necessary to place it at Inói, for here are the fountain and the remains of antiquity which fix the ancient site: whereas, at the village of Marathóna, there are no vestiges of Hellenic antiquity; and the place standing in the middle of the valley on the bank of the torrent, is destitute of any of those advantages of position, generally found in

<sup>1</sup> If these tumuli are not of a remote age, they are probably works of Herodes, and equally tend to prove Vraná to be the site of *Marathon*.



ancient sites: at four other places, on the contrary, vestiges may be observed, which, judging from similar remains in other parts of Attica, are alone sufficient to give presumption that those are the sites of the four demi of this district.

We may now compare the description which Pausanias has left us of these places<sup>1</sup>, with actual appearances.

“Marathon,” he says, “is a demus equally distant from Athens, and from Carystus in Eubœa. Here the barbarians invaded Attica, and, being worsted in battle, lost some ships in their retreat. In the plain is a tomb (τάφος) of the Athenians, upon which are pillars (στήλαι) bearing the names of the men who fell in the battle, arranged according to their tribes: there is another tomb for the Plataenses of Bœotia and for the slaves; for upon this occasion slaves engaged in action for the first time. In the same place there is a monument of Miltiades, son of Cimon . . . . Here, every night is heard the sound of horses neighing and of men fighting. Those who come for the purpose of examining these things suffer for their curiosity, but those who fortuitously hear them do not incur the anger of the divinities.

“The Marathonii worship as heroes those who died in the battle, as well as the hero Marathon, from whom the demus takes its name: they worship also Hercules, asserting that they were the first of the Greeks who honoured Hercules as a god. It is said that a man appeared in the battle, with a rustic figure and dress, who slew many of the barbarians with a plough-share, and who was not to be seen

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 32, 3, seq.



after the action. To the Athenians who made inquiry of the oracle concerning this person, no other answer was given, than that they were to honour the hero Echelæus. A trophy of white marble was also erected. As to the Medes, they were buried by the Athenians, as the latter affirm, because it is always a work of piety to cover a human body with earth. I was unable, however, to discover their tomb (τάφον), either a heap of earth (χωμα), or any other monument (σημειον), so that it seems they were thrown by the Athenians into excavations, as chance might determine<sup>1</sup>.

“In Marathon there is a fountain called Macaria, . . . . . There is also in Marathon a lake, for the most part marshy, into which the flying barbarians fell, through their ignorance of the ways; and here it is said that the principal slaughter of them occurred. Beyond the lake (ὕπὲρ τὴν λίμνην) are seen the stables of stone of the horses of Artaphernes, together with vestiges of a tent upon the rocks. A river flows out of the lake which, within the lake, affords water fit for cattle to drink; but towards the place where it enters the sea, becomes salt and full of sea-fishes<sup>2</sup>. A little above the plain is the mountain of Pan, and a cavern worthy of inspection. The entrance is narrow; but within are apartments (οἴκοι)

<sup>1</sup> εἰς ὄρυγμα δὲ φέροντες σφᾶς, ὥς τύχοιεν ἐσέβαλον. Pausanias probably meant that pits were dug for them in different parts of the plain, as the bodies might chance to lie.

<sup>2</sup> Ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ μὲν πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ, βοσκήμασιν ὕδωρ ἐπιτήδειον παρεχόμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἁλμυρὸς ἤδη γίνεται, καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν θαλασσίων πλήρης.

and baths, and that which is called the goat-stand (*αἰπόλιον*) of Pan, together with rocks very much resembling goats."

It would be vain to expect the discovery of many of the monuments of art mentioned in this extract ; but the less perishable works of nature of which Pausanias speaks ought to be found by a diligent search.

The marshy lake, and the river, which, becoming salt towards the mouth, produces sea-fishes, are precisely as Pausanias describes them. The marsh, which is about six miles in circumference, is deepest towards the foot of Mount Koráki, where several springs issue from the foot of the rocks on the right side of the road leading from the great plain to Kato-Suli ; a little below these springs are some deep stagnant pools, fed by other subterranean sources. The other parts of the marsh become nearly dry in summer ; but these pools and springs are permanent, and preserve a luxuriance of vegetation, which renders the place very useful for the pasturing of cattle in the summer<sup>1</sup>, when verdure has abandoned the plains of Attica. A small stream, which has its origin in the springs at the foot of Mount Koráki, is then traced through the marsh into a small salt lake, supplied from subterraneous sources, and situated on the south-eastern extremity of the marsh, under a rocky ridge, the continuation of Cape Stómi. Both the ridge and the salt lake are known by the name of

<sup>1</sup> The buffalo, which is often used in the agriculture of Greece, particularly delights in such places, where he rolls in the mud, and thus at once defends himself from the heat and the flies.

Dhrakonéria (τὰ Δρακωνέρια)<sup>1</sup>. The lake discharges itself into the sea by a running stream, exactly at the angle where the sandy beach of the bay terminates, and where the rocks of Cape Cynosura begin to border the shore. The stagnant fresh-water pools of the marsh supply a valuable fishery of eels, and the salt lake of sea-fish. A torrent, issuing from the pass which leads from Tricorythus to Rhamnus, crosses the plain of Tricorythus, and adds some occasional contributions to the marsh.

Pausanias in mentioning the fountain Macaria, just before he describes the marsh<sup>2</sup>, affords a presumption that the fountain at the head of the marsh in the pass of Mount Koráki leading to Suli, and which in fact is the most considerable source of fresh water in the *Marathonia*, is the *Macaria*: and we find the strongest confirmation of this opinion in Strabo. According to his version of the death of Eurystheus, the children of Hercules, when protected by the Athenians, dwelt at Tricorythus: the battle in which the Argives were overthrown occurred in the *Marathonia*: Eurystheus was slain in the action, his body was interred at Gargettus, and his head, which was cut off by Iolaus, was buried in Tricorythus, below

Fountain  
Macaria.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, the *monster-waters*. Δράκων is applied by the modern Greeks not only to things monstrous or wonderful, but to those also respecting which there are wonderful stories in circulation, which is the case with regard to this salt lake.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias says, the fountain was ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι; which, coupled with the modern name Marathóna, has led to the opinion adopted by travellers in general, that the fountain at Cenoë was Macaria: but ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, as already observed, commonly signified “within the Marathonian district.”



the carriage-road (ἀμάξιτον), near the fountain Macaria; from which circumstance the place was called "the head of Eurystheus<sup>1</sup>." The part of the Hamaxitus, or carriage-road, here alluded to, was probably where it led through the pass between the marsh and Mount Koráki, over the rocks at the foot of that mountain, where traces of ancient wheels are still visible.

The pass, it may be observed, is one of some importance, being the only direct and easy passage from the Mesogæa by the plain of Marathon to Rhamnus and the places to the northward.

On the eastern side of the great marsh, there is a small cavern in the side of Mount Dhrakonéria, which has in some places the appearance of having been wrought by art.

Stables of  
Artapher-  
nes.

Its position corresponds to that of the place called "the stables of Artaphernes," as indicated by Pausanias. In the adjoining plain of Trico-

<sup>1</sup> Εὐρυσθεὺς μὲν οὖν στρατεύσας εἰς Μαραθῶνα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡρακλίου παῖδας καὶ Ἰόλαον, βοηθησάντων Ἀθηναίων, ἱστορεῖται πεσεῖν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα Γαργηττοῦ ταφῆναι, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν χωρὶς ἐν Τρικορίνθῳ, ἀποκόψαντος αὐτὴν Ἰολάου περὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Μακαρίαν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀμάξιτον· καὶ ὁ τόπος καλεῖται Εὐρυσθείως κεφαλὴ. Strabo, p. 377. ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ, the old reading of this passage, was changed by Korai into ἐν Τρικορίνθῳ· the proof of which reading is found in the relation of the same event by Diodorus (4, 57), as well as in Euripides (Heraclid. 81), and Pherecydes (ap. Antonin. Liberal. 33). See note to the French translation of Strabo, iii. p. 249. The fountain Macaria was named from a daughter of Hercules by Deianeira, who offered herself a voluntary sacrifice to secure victory to the Heracleidae. Pausan. Attic. 32, 5. Euripides represents Eurystheus to have been made prisoner, and put to death by Alcmena. Euripid. Heracl. 475. seq.



rythus, the Persian commanders were probably encamped. Protected from surprise by the great marsh, by the pass of Macaria, and by the surrounding hills, commanding at the same time a safe and easy communication through Rhamnus with the Persian garrison at Eretria in one direction, and in the other with the Marathonian beach and the ships in the bay, the vale of Tricorythus was peculiarly well adapted for the head-quarters of the invading army.

The only indication which Pausanias has given of the position of the mountain of Pan is, that it was a little further removed from the plain than the marsh and salt lake <sup>1</sup>. Of the mountains, therefore, which surround the Marathonian plain, Stavrokoráki seems to have the best claim to be considered the mountain of Pan; and here we should search for the spacious cavern with a narrow entrance, which Pausanias has described <sup>2</sup>.

The artificial monuments of antiquity at Marathon are divisible into such as may have existed before the battle, having no reference to it, and those which were erected in consequence of that event: the

<sup>1</sup> ὀλίγον ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστὶν ὄρος. Pausan. Attic. 32, 6.

<sup>2</sup> The natural consequence of placing Macaria at the fountain of CEnoë was to mistake a cavern in the hill, which rises above that fountain to the north, for the grotto of Pan; but this cave is of the smallest dimensions, and contains a few stalactites, which it is hardly possible, by any stretch of imagination, to magnify into the baths, habitations, and petrified goats, described by Pausanias.

former we may expect to find upon or near the site of the ancient towns ; the latter, in the most central and conspicuous part of the scene of action.

Of the greater part of the antiquities of the four demi, I have already had occasion to speak in reference to their topographical position.

If a conjecture might be hazarded as to the tumuli near Vraná, we might perhaps call the large one the sepulchre of Xuthus, son of Hellen, to whom the district of Hyttenia having been granted by Erechtheus the second, as a dowry with his daughter, Xuthus founded therein the four towns, and gave it the name of Tetrapolis<sup>1</sup>.

Hera-  
cleium.

Marathon being placed at Vraná, the probability follows that the peribolus of a temple which has been already described, as existing at the foot of Mount Argalíki at the entrance of the valley of Vraná, belonged to the temple of Hercules, the chief divinity of the Marathonii ; for we learn from Herodotus, that it was in a piece of land sacred to Hercules, that the Athenians were encamped previously to their taking up the more extended position which they assumed on the day of battle ; and it will be seen hereafter that, in all probability, the first position of the army was exactly in this part of the valley of Vraná. The Heracleium of Marathon was of some celebrity. Archidamus, when he overran Attica in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, abstained from offering any injury to Marathon out of respect to Hercules, from whom the kings of Sparta were descended, and because the Heracleidæ

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 383. Stephan. in Τετραπόλις.

had here received hospitality, and had overcome the enemies of their race <sup>1</sup>.

Here perhaps may have stood the altars of the heroes Echelæus and Marathon, of the latter of whom there was a statue, representing him as a peasant<sup>2</sup>. There was also a sanctuary of Apollo Delius at Marathon, from whence the Athenian θεωρία or sacred legation to Delus set out for Prasiæ, its place of embarkation, and where the diviners together with daily sacrifices observed the prognostics which regulated its departure <sup>3</sup>.

Of the monuments erected after the battle, we are at once directed to the probable site by the conspicuous tumulus which stands at half a mile from the sea-shore, about the middle of the plain. As Pausanias, after having mentioned the tomb of the Athenians, says that he could not see any heap of earth, or other monument indicating the burying-place of the Persians, whom he supposes therefore to have been thrown into pits, it must evidently have been to this barrow that he alluded in describing the tomb of the Athenians.

This heap of earth, therefore, covers the remains

<sup>1</sup> Diodor. 12, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Μαραθῶν, οὗ τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἄγαλμα· ἔστι δὲ ἥρως γεωργός. Philost. Sophist. 2, 1, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> At Œnoë, of the tribe Hippothoontis, near the frontier of Bœotia, there was a similar sanctuary of Apollo Pythius, from whence the theoria, after the same previous ceremonies, set out for Delphi by the sacred road, which passed through Panopæa. Philochor. ap. Schol. Sophoc. Œd. Col. v. 1102. There was a previous observation of σημεῖα at the Pythium of Athens: these were the Pythian lightnings (ἄστραπαι Πυθίαι) mentioned by Euripides (Ion 285), and which were looked for over Harma in Mount Parnes (Strabo, p. 404).



of the 192 heroes, who purchased with their lives a victory the most remarkable for the disproportion<sup>1</sup> of the parties engaged, that history has recorded ;— a victory which was only equalled in its important consequences by that of Salamis, and which may be said to have affected the arts, policy, and civilization of Europe from that time to the present day. The tumulus is known by the name of Soró (ὁ Σορός), the tomb<sup>2</sup>, the word which has probably been applied to it by the people of Attica ever since its erection : it is about thirty feet high, and two hundred yards in circumference, composed of a light mould mixed with sand, amidst which I found many brazen heads of arrows, about an inch in length, of a trilateral form, and pierced at the top with a round hole for the reception of the shaft. There were also, in still greater number, fragments of black flint, rudely shaped by art, and which in general are longer than the arrow-heads of brass. All these were probably discharged by the Persian bowmen, and, having been collected after the action, were thrown into the grave of the Athenians, as an offering to the victorious dead, who thus received the first marks of those heroic honours which were ever afterwards paid to them by the Marathonii<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Nulla unquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit. Corn. Nep. Miltiad. 5.

<sup>2</sup> This Hellenic word, meaning literally a *heap*, was derived from the earliest form of the tomb, but was applied, in later times, to sepulchral monuments of other kinds, particularly to that which resembles a tumulus less than any ; namely, the stone-coffin or sarcophagus.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus (7. 69) remarks, that in the expedition of Xerxes the Æthiopians used short arrows headed with the same kind of



There are several vestiges of ancient monuments around the tumulus. At a very small distance from it is a heap of earth and stones, not indeed of any considerable height, but having much the appearance of being artificial: it is the tomb perhaps of the Plataenses and Athenian slaves.

At 500 yards to the northward of the great tumulus is a ruin called Pyrgo (Πύργος): it consists of the foundations of a square monument, constructed of large blocks of white marble, and has been supposed, with great appearance of probability, to have been the monument erected in honour of Miltiades. The modern name Pyrgo may have been given to it before it was so much ruined as to have lost its quadrangular form, or it may perhaps have had a modern superstructure forming it into a tower, having perhaps been originally of that form which was one of the most common among the sepulchral monuments of the Greeks, a cubical basis supporting a stele or short column<sup>1</sup>.

Monument  
of Mil-  
tiades.

hard stone with which they engraved seals: this shows at least that the custom of pointing arrows with stone was customary among some of the ancient nations of the east, and renders it not improbable that some of the bowmen of Datis may have used such weapons. Black flint, it may be observed, is not a very common substance in Greece, and is not found in the neighbourhood of Marathon. Gun-flints are generally made of agate brought from northern Albania.

[Flints of the same kind as those found in the tumulus of Marathon have been observed on many ancient sites in Attica, and in some places in such abundance, that it has become a question, whether they were arrow-heads, and whether they are not natural productions.—Additional Note of 1837.]

<sup>1</sup> The *στῆλαι* admitted of an infinite variety of forms and orna-

Probalin-  
thus.

Not far to westward of this spot, an inundation of the torrent of Vraná happening at the same time as that of Marathóna, of which I have already spoken, uncovered, not long before my last visit to Marathon, the foundations of some houses, together with several vases of ancient fabric and very large dimensions, which had been sunk in the ground; the remains perhaps of the habitations of some of the ancient cultivators of this fertile plain. In the same direction from the tumulus, and about midway from thence to the foot of Mount Argalíki, are the foundations of buildings at a place called Valarí, a corruption perhaps of *Probalinthus*: among them is a large architrave with a few Greek letters upon it, which appeared to have once formed part of a church, for the construction or repair of which it had been transported probably from the ruins in the neighbouring marsh, where it may have belonged to the temple of Minerva Hellotis. The extremity of Mount Argalíki, where it approaches the marsh, is the position already attributed to *Probalinthus*: here ancient terraces are observed on the falls of the mountain; indicative of a cultivation which has long ceased. This projection of Argalíki forms a natural termination of the Marathonian plain; but the Probalysia, or district of Probalinthus, may have extended further, and have shared the narrow plain already mentioned

ments; when cylindrical, they were never of the proportions of columns used in buildings, but much shorter; and it may be doubted whether Grecian taste in the time of its purity would have tolerated such a monument as a single column of architectural proportions.

with the demus of Phegeus, which, as before observed, was in this situation <sup>1</sup>.

Some other remains of antiquity were observable on the left bank of the river of Marathóna, in a line between the tumulus and the pass of Kato-Suli; and near the south-western angle of the great marsh, about a quarter of a mile from the sea, at the church of Misosporétissa<sup>2</sup>, have been noticed the remains of a single Ionic column, of two feet and a half in diameter, of the best period of the arts. It stands very near the situation where we may suppose the trophy of white marble to have stood, which was erected by the Athenians after the action, and which, from the remark of Pausanias on its material, seems to have still existed in his time; for this is precisely the spot where the chief slaughter of the barbarians took place, and where the victory of the Athenians was crowned by driving them to the shore and into the marsh.

There is reason to believe that Icaria, Semachus, and Plothæ, were demi of the southern part of Diacria, not far from the Marathonian district.

We are told by Statius, that Icarius, who gave Icaria name as well to the demus as to the mountain upon which it stood, was slain in the Marathonian forest <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος τῆς Ἀραφηνίδος μεταξὺ Φηγίως τοῦ πρὸς Μαραθῶνι καὶ Βραυρῶνος. Stephan. in Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες. At Ierotzákalo near the extremity of this plain, Mr. Finlay found a sepulchral stone inscribed Διονύσιος.

<sup>2</sup> Ἡ Παργία ἢ Μισο-σπορέτισσα is so called because the festival is held in the middle of seed-time, or about the beginning of October.

<sup>3</sup> Stat. Theb. 11, 644.



This forest still covers the mountains Aforismó and Argalíki; it extends nearly to the sea-shore and the Mesogæa, and, next to that of Mount Parnes, is the most extensive forest in Attica. Mount Argalíki being the most detached of the *Brilessian* summits, seems best to answer to the mountain Icarius<sup>1</sup>, and Icaria itself occupied probably the vale of Rapendósia.

Semachus.

The proximity of the Semachidæ and Icarienses may be strongly suspected from the similar *μῦθοι* related of these demi. Bacchus was said to have experienced hospitality from the Attic hero Semachus<sup>2</sup> and his daughters, as well as from Icarius and his daughter Erigone<sup>3</sup>.

According to Philochorus, the Semachidæ were in Epacria<sup>4</sup>: whence it would seem that the district

<sup>1</sup> Plin. H. N. 4, 7 (11). Solin. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Stephan. *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> The following was the Attic *μῦθος* relating to Icarius. When Ceres and Bacchus first came into Attica, the former was entertained by Celeus at Eleusis, where she taught him the cultivation of corn; while Bacchus imparted to Icarius, who received him at Icaria, the art of making wine. Some peasants who were intoxicated with the wine murdered Icarius, thinking he had poisoned them; and buried him the next morning, when they discovered their error. Erigone, the daughter of Icarius, was conducted to the grave by the dog of Icarius, named Mæra, and hanged herself for grief at her father's loss. Erigone and her dog became constellations. Apollod. 3, 14. § 7. Hygin. fab. 130. Tibull. 4, El. 1. Stephan. in *Ἰκαρία*. The only argument that can be adduced in favour of placing Icaria to the north-west of Athens (see above, p. 3. n. 2) is the verse of Statius (Theb. 11, 644),

“Icarii Celeique domus viridesque Melænæ;”

but the vicinity of Icaria to Eleusis (Celei domus) is by no means necessary to the poet's meaning, in reference to the mythus of Bacchus and Ceres.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Stephan. in *Σημαχίδαι*. See above, p. 30. n. 2.



of the ancient city Epacria still preserved its appellation in the fourth century B. C.<sup>1</sup> The Epacrenses at that time were probably a demus, dwelling on the site of the ancient city of that name; as well because all the other twelve cities, except Cecropia, became demi, as because the Ἐπακρεῖς are mentioned in an inscription of the Royal Museum of Paris as neighbours of the Plothenses<sup>2</sup>; and hence Plothæ likewise may be placed in this vicinity.

Having finished his observations on Marathon, Pausanias thus proceeds to speak of Rhamnus<sup>3</sup>:  
 “Rhamnus is distant about sixty stades from Marathon, on the road which leads near the sea to Oropus. The dwellings of the inhabitants are by the sea-side, but the temple of Nemesis is at a small distance above the shore. This goddess is beyond all others implacable towards human insolence and injustice. It appears that the barbarians who landed at Marathon exposed themselves to her anger, by despising the difficulties which were opposed to their enterprise against Athens, to such a degree that, as if those difficulties had been already surmounted, they brought here a block of the stone of Parus for the construction of a trophy. This stone Pheidias wrought into a statue of Nemesis. On her head the goddess has a crown, on which are stags and small figures of victory; in her right hand is a vase, and in her left the branch of an apple-tree. On the

<sup>1</sup> This meaning of Epacria is confirmed by the Lex. Rhet. ap. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 259, which says, Ἐπακρία ὄνομα χώρας πλησίον Τετραπόλεως κειμένης.

<sup>2</sup> Boeckh, C. Inscript. Gr. No. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Attic. 33, 2 seq.

vase Æthiopians are represented, concerning which I have no conjectures of my own to offer; nor can I assent to the opinion of those who say that they relate to the river Oceanus, because the Æthiopes inhabit the banks of Oceanus, who was the father of Nemesis<sup>1</sup> . . . . . Neither this nor any other ancient statue of Nemesis is made with wings. As to the wings, which I have since observed on some statues of Nemesis, held in the highest veneration by the Smyrnæi<sup>2</sup>, they appear to have been given to Nemesis in the same manner as to Love, because Nemesis takes particular cognizance of the affairs of lovers. I now proceed to speak of the figures represented in relief on the basis of the statue, premising in explanation of them, that Helena is said by the Greeks to have been the daughter of Nemesis, and to have been suckled and nursed by Leda; and that all men consider Jupiter, and not Tyndareos, to have been the father of Helena. Pheidias having heard of this, has represented Leda conducting Helena to Nemesis; he has also represented Tyndareos and his sons, and a man called the horseman (ἵππευς) standing by a horse: there are also Agamemnon, and

<sup>1</sup> I omit the remarks of Pausanias which follow, tending to show that he was opposed to this opinion, because in his time the word Oceanus was applied not to the river Nile, as it was in the more ancient mythology, but to the Atlantic Ocean. It seems clear, that the worship of Nemesis, her descent from Oceanus or the Nile, and the Æthiopians on the vase, had all reference to the worship of a deity introduced into Attica from Egypt, and called Nemesis by the Greeks. The Æthiopians alluded to on the vase of the Rhamnusian Nemesis were the inhabitants of Meroë on the Nile.

<sup>2</sup> V. Pausan. Achaic. 5, 1. Bœot. 35, 2.

Menelaus, and Pyrrhus son of Achilles, who was the first husband of Hermione daughter of Helena: Orestes is omitted, because he murdered his mother, although Hermione never deserted him, but bore him a son. There are also upon the base two young men, one of whom is named Epochus: of these I heard only that they are the brothers of Œnoë, from whom the demus Œnoë receives its name."

The territory of Rhamnus, like that of Marathon, was secluded from the rest of Attica by surrounding mountains. Its cultivable soil was a plain, three miles in length, separated from the sea-shore by a ridge of rocky hills, and enclosed on the opposite or western side by a mountain named Dhimíko, which is connected with the summits bordering the plain of Marathon and the valley of Œnoë. At the southern end of the valley of Rhamnus is the pass which has already been mentioned as leading into it from the plain of Tricorythus. At its opposite or northern extremity, upon an elevation overlooking a narrow ravine of near half a mile in length, which leads down to a small bay, are found the ruins of the Hierum of Nemesis, and, on the northern side of the bay, the remains of the fortified demus of Rhamnus, which was considered one of the principal fortresses of Attica<sup>1</sup>. It is now called Ovrió-Kastro<sup>2</sup>. The circuit was about half a mile, consisting of a small quadrangular citadel, on the summit of a hill

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. pro Cor. p. 238, Reiske. Rhamnus appears to have still existed in the time of Pliny: see above, p. 83. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 'Οβριό-Καστρον, a corruption of 'Εβραιόν-Καστρον, Jewish Castle, is a name not uncommonly applied in Greece to the ruins of a Hellenic fortress.



connected by a narrow ridge with the mountains, which closely approach it on the land side. On the north, the place was defended by a torrent: on the south, there is a small plain, extending to the sea. Traces of the walls and towers are still to be seen, constructed or at least faced with white marble of finished and regular masonry; but the principal remains are those of a gate, with its adjoining walls, which formed the principal entrance to the fortress on the small connecting ridge, which I have mentioned. There are also the remains of a wall, which protected the communication on the land side between the Hierum and the fortress.

The Hierum of Nemesis consisted of a large artificial platform, supported by a wall towards the declivities. In the centre of the platform stood two temples. The larger was a peripteral hexastyle, seventy-one feet long and thirty-three broad on the stylobate, with a pronaus, cella, and posticum, in the usual manner. There were twelve columns on the sides, fluted only at the top and bottom, two feet four inches in diameter below, and thirteen feet six inches in height. All the columns have fallen except portions of seven on the southern side and of one in the pronaus. The rest of the building lies in a confused heap, amidst which are seen some fragments of a colossal statue, of dimensions agreeing with those of the Rhamnusian Nemesis, as stated by two Greek writers<sup>1</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> 'Ραμνουσίαν Νέμεσιν. 'Εν 'Ραμνοῦντι Νεμέσεως ἱδρυτο ἄγαλμα δεκαπῆχυν, ὁλόλιθον ἔργον Φειδίου, ἔχον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μηλίας κλάζον. Hesych. in v. Zenob. cent. 5. prov. 82. A colossal head, found in the ruins of this temple, supposed to have been



roof was formed of tiles of Pentelic marble; and remains of painted ornaments are still visible on fragments of the cornice.

The colossal statue appears to have differed from the description of Pausanias, inasmuch as it is not of Parian stone, but of the same Attic marble which furnished the materials of every part of the temples, and peribolus of the Hierum, with the exception of the columns and antæ of the small temple. We may infer, therefore, either that the original statue of Parian marble had been removed, and another of the same dimensions supplied in its place (which substitutions were not unfrequent in Greece, especially after the Roman spoliations); or else that the story of the block of stone brought by the Persians was a vulgar fable, or an invention of the priests of Nemesis, by which Pausanias was deceived. That the Persians should have thought of erecting a trophy at all,—that they should have been so curious with regard to its materials as to bring a block of Parian marble with them,—and that they should have left it at Rhamnus before the battle,—are all so improbable, that the truth of the story may fairly be doubted.

Several fragments of figures, in high relief, have been found among the ruins of the temple of Nemesis: they are of white marble, about one foot in height, and are wrought with such perfection, that we may easily believe them to have been a part of that composition, in relief, on the basis of the statue

that of the statue of Nemesis, is now in the British Museum, No. 325

of Nemesis, which, as well as the statue itself, was the work of Phidias<sup>1</sup>.

The smaller temple was thirty-five feet long by twenty-one feet broad, and consisted only of a cella, with a portico, in front of which were two fluted Doric columns, of two feet seven inches diameter, between antæ. The walls were of polygonal masonry. On either side of the door of this temple stood a marble *θρόνος* or chair. On one of these, below the seat, is the inscription *Θέμιδι Σώστρατος ἀνέθηκεν*; and on the upper edge of the back of the chair, *ἐπὶ ἱερείας Φιλόστρατ . . . .* Upon the other chair, similarly situated, are the words *Νεμέσει Σώστρατος ἀνέθηκεν*, and *ἐπὶ ἱερείας Κάλλιστο . . . .* The dedication of one of these chairs to Themis has led to the opinion, that this temple was dedicated to Themis, and the larger to Nemesis. Among the ruins of the smaller temple was found a fragment, wanting the head and shoulders, of a statue of the human size, clothed in the close formal drapery of the Eginetan school. This

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 396, and Pliny, 36, 5 (4, § 3), differ from Pausanias on this point: they say, the statue was the work of Agoracritus of Parus, a disciple of Phidias; and Antigonius of Carystus asserted (ap. Zenob. l. l.) that the words *Ἀγοράκριτος Πάριος ἐποίησεν* were affixed to the apple-branch in the goddess's hand. There was a common opinion, however, that Phidias was the real author of the statue, but that he gave up the honour of the work to his favourite disciple (vide Suid. Zenob. l. l. Tzetz. Chil. 7, 960): who probably assisted him in it; the great master moreover being, perhaps, ambitious only of reputation in the sculpture of metal and ivory, which was considered of a higher order. Some persons believed the statue to have been the work of Diodotus, whose name we do not find mentioned on any other occasion. Strabo, p. 396.

statue is now in the British Museum. Its apparent antiquity compared with the sculptures found in the larger temple, the polygonal masonry of the smaller, and its fluted columns compared with the unfluted of the larger, all seem to show that the smaller was the more ancient of the two, and anterior to the Persian war; though we must suppose in this case, from the form of the letters and the long vowels employed in the inscriptions on the chairs, that they were added long after the date of the building itself, probably at the same time as the columns of the portico, which may have been ruined in the Persian war; for there is this great difference between the cella and its front, that the former is of marble, and the latter of a softer and coarser stone. It is remarkable that the walls of these two buildings, although they stand so near together that the north-eastern angle of the smaller temple almost touches the flank of the larger, were not parallel. It is a conspicuous instance of that neglect of exact symmetry which is often observable in Greek buildings.

The Oropia was considered a part of Bœotia: its ancient dialect was Æolic, like that of Bœotia; and it is with a reference to the situation of the Oropia, beyond the borders of Attica, that Thucydides calls it Peiraice (Πειραικὴ, or ἡ πέραν γῆ)<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, Oropus was generally under the Athenian govern-

<sup>1</sup> . . . οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι . . . παριόντες δὲ Ὀρωπὸν, τὴν γῆν τὴν Πειραικὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νύμονται Ὀρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι ἐδῆσαν. Thucyd. 2, 23. . . οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς Μήλου, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ὀρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς. Thucyd. 3, 91.

ment, and was finally given up to Athens by Philip son of Amyntas, after he had taken Thebes<sup>1</sup>. It may be doubted, however, whether it ever became one of the demi of Attica.

Ὠρωπός, precisely in its ancient form, is the name now applied to a small village situated on the right bank of the Vouriéni (Βουριένι, or Βουριαίμη), anciently the Asopus, at its issue from the rocky gorges of the hills which separate the maritime plain of Oropus from the more inland plain of Tanagra, and which are a continuation of the principal chain of the Diacrian summits, extending from thence as far as Thebes. At Oropó are some fragments of buildings and sepulchral stones, scattered about the village, or preserved in some ruined churches, as well here as at Sykámino, on the opposite side of the *Asopus*. The torrents flowing from the hills, which rise above Oropó on the south, often bring to light similar vestiges of antiquity: just before I visited the place in 1806, several ancient tombs had been thus discovered, from which I procured several xystæ, heads of spears and swords made of brass; sufficient proofs of a town of great antiquity having stood on the site of Oropó.

The plain of *Oropus* expands from its upper angle at Oropó towards the mouth of the *Asopus*, and stretches for five miles along the shore, from the foot of the hills of Markópulo on the east, to the village of Khalkúki on the west, where begin some heights, extending westward to Dhílisi, the ancient Delium. Midway between Oropó and the eastern

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 34, 1.



extremity of the plain, or about two miles from each, in the centre of a bay formed by two low capes, is the Σκάλα or wharf, which affords the usual point of embarkation from the surrounding district for the opposite coast of *Eubœa*. This place receives the name of *στοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους*, from a ruined church dedicated to "the Holy Apostles," near which are some wells and gardens. The remains of a Hellenic wall, in the sea, some fragments of architecture in the church, the foundation of what appears to have been an ancient watch-tower, on the summit of a remarkable hill, which, projecting from the mountains, here leaves only a narrow space between it and the shore, added to some other vestiges of Hellenic antiquity at the foot of the same hill, on the north-western side, are decisive in showing that here stood either the port named Delphinium, or Oropus itself; there is great difficulty in determining which.

Strabo, after having enumerated the places on *Oropus*, the eastern coast of Attica from south to north, describes those on the coast of Bœotia, of which he reckons the Oropia a part: "The beginning of Bœotia," he says, "is Oropus<sup>1</sup> and the sacred harbour named Delphinium, opposite to which is old Eretria in Eubœa, distant sixty stades. Beyond Delphinium, and distant twenty stades from it, is Oropus, opposite to which is the present Eretria, distant forty stades: then occurs Delium<sup>2</sup>." Here,

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias (*Attic.* 34, 1) describes the Oropia as *μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Ταναγρικῆς*.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν περιήγησιν τῆς χώρας (scil. Bœotiæ) ποιητόν, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Εὐβοίαν παραλίας, τῆς συνεχοῦς

although the numbers will not bear an exact comparison with the localities, the difference of distance sufficiently shows that the place called by Strabo Old Eretria, but noticed by no other author, was in the inner part of the bay of Vathy'; the north-easterly direction of the coast from the Cape of Paleó 'Egripo, here causing a considerable enlargement of the breadth of the channel. It seems, therefore, that in the time of Strabo there was a place in that bay called Old Eretria, but which could not have been the site of the great Eretria, the rival of Chalcis, and one of the leading cities of Greece; the ruins at Paleó 'Egripo, which consist of the walls and citadel of a large town, with a theatre, a stadium, a port, and other remains, proving the existence in that place of a flourishing city during many ages. This, therefore, is the point from which Thucydides measures sixty stades to Oropus. But the interval between Paleó 'Egripo, and the low cape opposite to it, which lies between the mouth of the *Asopus* and the Skala of Apostólus, is not more than half that number of stades. The land we may indeed suppose to have undergone some increase in the course of twenty-

τῇ Ἀττικῇ. Ἀρχὴ δὲ ὁ Ὠρωπὸς καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν, ὃν καλοῦσι Δελφίνιον, καθ' ὃν ἡ παλαιὰ Ἐρετρία ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ, διάπλουν ἔχουσα ἑξήκοντα σταδίων. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δελφίνιον ἐστὶν ὁ Ὠρωπὸς ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίοις· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡ νῦν Ἐρετρία· διάπλους δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα. Strabo, p. 403. The epitomizer of this passage has ἑξήκοντα instead of τεσσαράκοντα, but as Strabo evidently intended to notice a difference in the διάπλους, the former number is doubtless erroneous. Thucydides also measures sixty stades from Eretria to Oropus, . . . διέχει δὲ μάλιστα ὁ Ὠρωπὸς τῶν Ἐρετρίων πόλεως θαλάσσης μέτρον ἑξήκοντα σταδίων. Thucyd. 8, 95.

two centuries, as we find almost invariably on other alluvial shores, especially near such rivers as the Asopus. But this could not have affected the Skala; and, in fact, Oropó itself is not so much as sixty stades distant in a direct line from Paleó 'Egripo'. That measure, however, is better suited to Oropó than to any point on the coast, and may be taken therefore as favourable to the opinion that *Oropus* was at Oropó, to which the modern name, with concurrent vestiges of an ancient town, lends strength, as well as the distance of twenty stades from *Delphinium*, if we identify that ancient port with the Skala. To this we may add, that the cities of Greece seldom stood on the shore, and that Oropó, removed two or three miles from the sea, situated on the banks of a river on a strong height, backed by mountains, and watered by springs, was precisely adapted to an ancient foundation. On the other hand, the reasons for believing that Oropus was a maritime city are not without the greatest weight. In several occurrences relating to it in the history of Thucydides, there is every appearance that such was the fact<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Error in excess is a common characteristic of the distances given by Thucydides, when measured by the stade of 600 Greek feet. That this measure was his standard, we have proof in some of the distances round Athens, which naturally were more correctly known to the historian than any others: for example, those from Athens to Acharnæ, and to Deceleia; and the length of the Long Walls.

<sup>2</sup> These are particularly stated by Mr. Finlay, "Topography of Oropia and Diacria," p. 4—7. They happened in the sixth year of the war (B. C. 426), when the Athenian fleet of sixty sail, with 6000 hoplitæ on board, anchored at Oropus,—in the twentieth year of the war (B. C. 411), when Oropus fell into the



though it is also possible that by Oropus, the historian in every instance intended only the Oropian shore. Diodorus and Pausanias, however, furnish evidence more positive as to its maritime situation. The latter describes it as ἐπὶ θαλάσσης<sup>1</sup>; and the former relates that in the year B. C. 402, when Athens had lost the Oropia, the Thebans, in consequence of a sedition of the Oropii, removed the city seven stades from the sea<sup>2</sup>.

Amphiaraeium.

Connected with the question as to the position of Oropus is that of the temple of Amphiaraus. "The Oropii," says Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, "were the first to worship Amphiaraus as a god. The temple contains his statue, of white marble. The altar is divided into several parts: one is sacred to Hercules, Jupiter, and Apollo Pæon<sup>4</sup>; another, to the heroes and their wives; a third, to Vesta, Hermes,

hands of the Bœotians, and in the same year when occurred that naval action in this part of the straits, by which the Athenians lost Eubœa. Thucyd. 3, 91. 8, 60. 95.

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέγα οὐδὲν ἐς συγγραφὴν παρεχομένη· ἀπέχει δὲ ὀδώδεκα τῆς πόλεως σταδίου· μάλιστα ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου. Pausan. Attic. 34, 1.

<sup>2</sup> κυριεύσαντες τῆς πόλεως μετόπισαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης αὐτοὺς ὥς ἑπτὰ σταδίους. Diodor. 14, 77.

In the former edition of this work, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, I. p. 199, as well as in Travels in Northern Greece, II. p. 446, I had arrived at the conclusion that *Oropus* stood at Oropó, and *Delphinium* at the Skala; but Mr. Finlay having lately published an able examination of this question, and having concluded in favour of the opposite opinion, I have left the question open to the reader, hoping that in the present state of Greece, some discoveries may decide it.

<sup>3</sup> Attic. 34, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Παίων· ὄνομα καὶ ἱατρός. Hesych. in Παίων.



and, of the children of Amphiaraus, to Amphilo-  
chus alone<sup>1</sup>; for Alcmæon, on account of his con-  
duct to Eriphyle, has no share in the honours of  
Amphiaraus and Amphilocheus: the fourth part of  
the altar is sacred to Venus, to Panacea, to Iaso<sup>2</sup>,  
to Hygieia, and to Minerva Pæonia; the fifth, to  
the Nymphs, to Pan, and to the rivers Achelous  
and Cephissus.” \* \* \*

“Near the temple the Oropii have a source of  
water, called the fountain of Amphiaraus, which is  
not honoured by them with any sacrifices, nor is it  
employed for lustrations, or for the washing of  
hands; but when any person is relieved from dis-  
ease by the oracle, he throws into the spring coined  
money, of gold or silver; for Amphiaraus is reported  
to have ascended from thence as a god. Those  
who consult the oracle undergo lustration, which  
consists in a sacrifice to Amphiaraus and to the  
others whose names are on the altar: after this pre-  
liminary, they sacrifice a ram to the god; and, lying  
down upon the skin, await the manifestation of the  
oracle in their dreams<sup>3</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Amphilocheus was for a short time king of Argos: he founded  
Argos Amphilocheicum in Epirus, and Mallus and Posidium on  
the coast of Cilicia. Herodot. 3, 91. Strabo, p. 675. The  
oracle of Amphilocheus at Mallus, like that of his father in the  
Oropia, still maintained its credit in the second century: Pausa-  
nias describes it as *μαντείον ἀψευδέστατον τῶν ἐπ' ἑμοῦ*. Attic.  
34. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Iaso was daughter of Amphiaraus. Schol. Aristoph. Plut.  
701. Hesych. in Ἰασώ.

<sup>3</sup> The mode of consulting the oracle of Amphiaraus is alluded  
to by Herodotus, *κατεκοίμησε* Mys sc. ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω, 8, 134.

The temple of Amphiaraus stood in the district of Psaphis, which was between Rhamnus and Oropus<sup>1</sup>. While Oropus could assert its independence, Psaphis was considered a town of the Oropia; but afterwards became a demus of Attica<sup>2</sup>.

The temple is described by Livy as situated in a place rendered agreeable by rivers and fountains<sup>3</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> . . . εἴτα Ῥαμνοῦς, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Νεμέσειως ἱερὸν· εἴτα Ψαφίς, ἢ τῶν Ὀρωπίων· ἐνταῦθα δὲ πον καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιαράειον ἐστὶ τετιμημένον ποτὶ μαντεῖον, ὅπου φυγόντα τὸν Ἀμφιάρειον, ὥς φησι Σοφοκλῆς·

Ἐδέξατο ῥαγεῖσα Θηβαία κόνις,

Λυτοῖσιν ὅπλοις καὶ τετρωρίστῳ δίφρῳ.

Ὀρωπὸς δ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ γιγνέσθαι πολλάκις· ἴδρυσται γὰρ ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς τε Ἀττικῆς καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας. Strabo, p. 399. Sophocles followed the Theban legend, according to which Amphiaraus descended into the earth at Cnopia, a suburb of Thebes on the southern side, where Pausanias has described a monument which commemorated the occurrence, consisting in his time of a περίβολος, containing some columns (Bœot. 8, 2). The Amphiaræium of the Oropia was a μεθιδρύσις from that of Cnopia (Strabo, p. 404). The people of Harma, however, asserted that the descent of Amphiaraus happened at their town, and that its name was derived from his chariot. Pausan. Bœot. 19, 2. None but the Oropii themselves seem to have thought that the Oropia had any claim to the honour.

<sup>2</sup> Marm. Oxon. II, 52. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Paullus . . . a Chalcide Aulidem trajicit . . . inde Oropum Atticæ ventum est; ubi pro deo vates Amphilochns colitur, templumque vetustum est, fontibus rivisque circum amœnum. Liv. 45, 27. Amphilochns, as we perceive from Pausanias, was worshipped in this temple, as well as his father Amphiaraus: the error therefore of Livy is not great. The baths of Amphiaraus (Αὐλὶς Ὀρωπὸς τε καὶ Ἀμφιάρεια λούτρα) were noticed by the dramatic poet Euphorion, (ap. Stephan. in Ὀρωπός;) and the agreeable route which led by them from Athens to Oropus by Di-

which leads us at once to seek for it near one of two torrents, which, collected from the *Phellean* summits, join the sea between the Skala of Apostólus and Kálamo. The mouth of one of these is distant a mile and a half from Skala in the same maritime level; at half a mile above it are some remains of antiquity. The other stream occurs about three miles further to the eastward, at the commencement of another narrow plain, which extends along the coast beyond Kálamo, and joins the wider plain of Revíthia, the whole being about three miles in length. On the latter torrent, at a mile above the plain, the steep sides of the valley still exhibit the remains of ancient walls. Many large squared blocks of Hellenic buildings have been used in the construction of rude walls, for the purpose of supporting cultivated terraces, on the slopes of the two hills.

This river retains some water in all seasons, and there are several springs on the sides of the hills. There are no habitations on the spot at present, but the place is called Mavro-Dhílissi, (Μαύρο-Δήλισσι); the epithet Mavro (black) distinguishing it from

Dicæarchus. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ὠρωπὸν διὰ ξαφνίδων καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ ὁδὸς ἐλευθέρῳ βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας προσάντης· ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν καταλύσεων πολυπλήθεια τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἔχουσα ἄφθονα καὶ ἀναπαύσεις κωλύει κόπον ἐγγίνεσθαι τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν. P. 11, Hudson. Mr. Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*, p. 27) proposes to read εἰς Ἀφιδνῶν (through Aphidna) instead of διὰ ξαφνίδων (through laurel-trees). But groves of laurels are not uncommon in Attica, and would be much more so if preserved; and the Amphiaraeum having been famed for its pleasant situation, there is reason to believe that Dicæarchus intended to notice the natural beauties of the road, as well as its social conveniences. On this question see Finlay's "*Oropia and Diacria*," p. 24.



another Dhíliissi, which is the site of *Delium*. The vicinity of the towns of Kálamo and Markópulo, but particularly of the former, in which many houses had been recently built when I visited the place, has been very injurious to the preservation of the antiquities of Mavro-Dhíliissi, which have been much employed as materials in the modern constructions of those places. From a large piece of cornice found near some ancient foundations at Mavro-Dhíliissi, and which in the year 1806 had been very recently carried to Kálamo, I copied the letters **ΤΟΣΑΜΦΙ**, in large well-formed characters of the best times. On another part of the same cornice, which I found lying on the ground at Mavro-Dhíliissi, were the letters **ΛΕΙ**. It is highly probable that **ΑΜΦΙ** is the beginning of the name of Amphiaraus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription may have been, . . . . . **ΛΕΙΤΟΣ ΑΜΦΙ-**  
*αράφ*, and part of a dedicatory inscription on the cornice of the temple. The following grant of *προξενία* by the Oropii, to one CEnophilus of Crete, appears from the conclusion to have once stood in the Amphiaraeium. I suppose it to have been brought from Mavro-Dhíliissi to Kálamo, where I found it.

. . . . . εἶπεν· δεδῶχθαι τῷ δήμῳ Οἰνόφιλον Φιλίσωνος  
Κρήτα πρόξενον εἶναι καὶ ἐνεργέτην τῆς πόλεως Ὠρωπίων καὶ αὐτὸν  
καὶ ἐκγόνους καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν  
καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατ-  
ταν καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα περ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ ἐνεργέ-  
ταις· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι  
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου.

Another inscription brought from Kálamo (see Visconti, *Deux Mémoires*, p. 147. London, Murray, 1816), and now in the British Museum, contains a decree of the Bæotian council (*κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν*) for repairing some of the plate belonging to the temple of Amphiaraus, and for making some new vessels by melting other dedications, consisting of coined money and old plate. A record of the names of the original donors, and of the weight



If Mavro-Dhílissi be the position of the Amphiaræium, we are under the necessity of rejecting the testimony of Pausanias, as to its distance from Oropus, whether that ancient town be placed at Oropó or at the Skala: for this distance, according to his text, was no more than twelve stades, whereas Mavro-Dhílissi is three geographical miles and a half in direct distance, which is equal to thirty-five stades, by the road, from the Skala, and five and a half G. M. d., or near sixty stades from Oropó. On the other hand, the distance of the Hellenic remains at the first-mentioned torrent are about twelve stades from the Skala, thus agreeing with the numbers of Pausanias, supposing the Skala to be the site of *Oropus*.

In the *Diacrian* hills, included between the head of the plain of Athens and the shore of the channel of Eubœa, are many places which retain vestiges of ancient demi. Between Ovrió-Kastro, or *Rhamnus*, and Revíthia, two such sites will be found in the map. Revíthia itself, which occupies the most considerable plain on the coast next to that of *Oropus*, is a third, and Kálamo a fourth. This village stands in a beautiful commanding situation above the coast, and has a fine natural source of water near it. Either Mávro-Dhílissi, or the situation one mile and a half eastward of the Skala of Apostólus, whichever of them

and description of each gift, is at the same time ordered, and is found on the same marble. Boeckh, C. Ins. Gr. No. 1570. At a church, half an hour south-eastward of Kálamo, Mr. Finlay copied . . . . . *στησεις* (Ἀμφ)ιαράω. This may have been either brought from the Amphiaræium, or it may have been an altar of Amphiaræus in a neighbouring demus. *στησεις* is perhaps the termination of the demotic.

was not the site of the Amphiaraeum, was probably the site of a fifth demus. Inland there occurs a succession of ancient sites on the southern side of the ridges of *Phelleus*. At Grammatikó, which is situated in a sequestered and well-watered valley, about four miles inland from Rhamnus, I found a sepulchral stone, with inscriptions and figures in relief upon it, and was informed that such remains are frequently brought to light there. On the western side of the mountain which rises above Grammatikó, and not far above the village of Varnáva, by which name the mountain itself is generally known, I observed a Hellenic tower of white marble, near a fountain, together with several remains of ancient sculpture and architecture<sup>1</sup>. Two miles north-west of Kapandríti, the modern chief place of the *Aphidnæa*, on the road to the Skala of Apostólus, are remains of another demus. At a mile south of Milósi are similar vestiges; and others again between them and those which are two miles north-west of Kapandríti.

There is some reason to believe that among the demi nearest to Aphidna were the Titacidæ, Perrhidæ, and Thyrgonidæ<sup>2</sup>.

Hecale.

It is not improbable that Grammatikó may be the site of *Hecale*, a demus, which received its name from a woman, who, according to Philochorus, entertained Theseus when he set out from thence to attack

<sup>1</sup> See Travels in Northern Greece, II p. 436. 438.

<sup>2</sup> Nicandrus (ap. Harpoc. in *Θυργωνιδαι*) states that these three demi were, together with Aphidna, removed from the Æantis to another tribe. There is a historical reason for placing Titacia in the Aphidnæa (see above, p. 20, n. 1); and as Hesychius describes Perrhidæ as a demus *ἐν Ἀφιδναίῃ*, they were all probably in the same vicinity.

the Marathonian bull which ravaged the Tetrapolis, and where a festival called the Hecalesia was afterwards celebrated by that and the surrounding demi<sup>1</sup>.

The name of Liósia, a village two miles west of <sup>Elæus.</sup> the site of *Aphidna*, appears to be corrupted from that of the demus 'Ελαιούσιοι. On the road from Kapandríti to Athens, at about two-thirds of the distance to *Cephisia*, near a place called Fasídhéro, probably from a village of that name no longer in existence, many torrents, flowing from the heights which unite Parnes with Brilessus, are collected into one body, and form the main branch of the Cephissus. The most remarkable of the sources of these torrents <sup>Trinemeia.</sup> is at Buyáti, which we may therefore identify with *Trinemeia*<sup>2</sup>.

One of the most important demi of the north- <sup>Sphendale.</sup> western frontier of Attica was *Sphendale*, where Mardonius halted on his march from Megara by Deceleia to Tanagra<sup>3</sup>. Hence it appears to have stood not far from the church of Aio Merkúrio, which now gives name to the pass leading from *Deceleia* through the ridges of *Parnes* into the extremity of the *Tanagraean* plain. But as there is no situation in the pass where space can be found for a demus, it stood probably at Malakása, in a plain where some copious sources unite to form the torrent, which joins the sea one mile and a half east of the Skala of Apostólus. Malakása is about the same distance as St. Mercurius from the junction of two roads from Athens, which immediately below the junction enter the extremity of the *Tanagraean* plains; one of these

<sup>1</sup> Philochorus ap. Plutarch. Thes. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 400. See above, p. 8, n. 1. <sup>3</sup> Herodot. 9, 15.



roads leads through *Deceleia* to St. Mercurius; the other to Malakása, crossing from the head of the plain of Athens into that of *Aphidna* or the upper valley of the *Marathonian* river, by the pass of Katifóri, and from thence over the ridges of Tzurka, which unite *Parnes* with *Phelleus*<sup>1</sup>.

Mount Parnes, being the great barrier of Attica against the Bœotians, was well fortified by the Athenians; and its positions were often contested by the armies of the two people. Its fortresses, mentioned in history, are *Deceleia*, *Phyle*, *Harma*, *Panactum*, and *Leipsydrium*. The mountain has two natural passes out of Attica: that of *Deceleia*, or St. Mercurius, already described, which leaves the great summits on the left hand; and that of *Phyle*, which leaves them on the right.

Chastia.

The first place met with on the ascent of Mount Parnes from Athens, by the pass of *Phyle*, is *Khassió* (*Χασσιό*), the largest village in Attica. From the similarity of name, it has been supposed that *Khassió* occupies the site of the demus *Chastienses* (*Χαστιείς*). This is possible, though it is fair to remark, that *Khassió* is a modern name, found in many parts of Greece. Not far above *Khassió* the road is joined

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Finlay remarks (*Oropia and Diacria*, p. 38) that Malakása is the only place where a considerable body of cavalry could conveniently halt; and supposes, considering the numbers of the Persian troops, that one division marched by Katifóri, the other by *Deceleia*, and that they joined at Malakása. The only site that could compete with Malakása as the site of *Sphendale* is *Kakosiálesi*, a strong position, and which preserves some Hellenic vestiges: but this was probably beyond the Attic frontier, being situated on the northern face of Mount *Arméni*, a summit attached to Mount *Parnes* on the north. This place, therefore, was probably a subordinate *κώμη* of the *Tanagraea*.



by that from Eleusis, which ascends from the Thriasian plain by the valley of the stream, now called Ianúla, which rising near *Phyle* joins the Eleusinian Bay near the salt-ponds, anciently called Rheiti. Ascending from Khassiá, the first remarkable traces of the great care with which this important pass was fortified by the Athenians, are the foundations of a tower, at the junction of a bye-road which leads on the right to the monastery of the Holy Trinity (ἡ ἁγία Τριάς), and from thence to Tatóy, or *Deceleia*, at the beginning of the eastern pass. At a few minutes' distance short of Phyle, we meet with the foundations of another tower for the defence of the pass.

The castle of Phyle, the identity of which is proved <sup>Phyle.</sup> by the preservation of its ancient name <sup>1</sup>, by its distance of more than 120 stades from Athens <sup>2</sup>, as well as by other circumstances related by the historians who have described the celebrated exploit of Thrasybulus <sup>3</sup>,

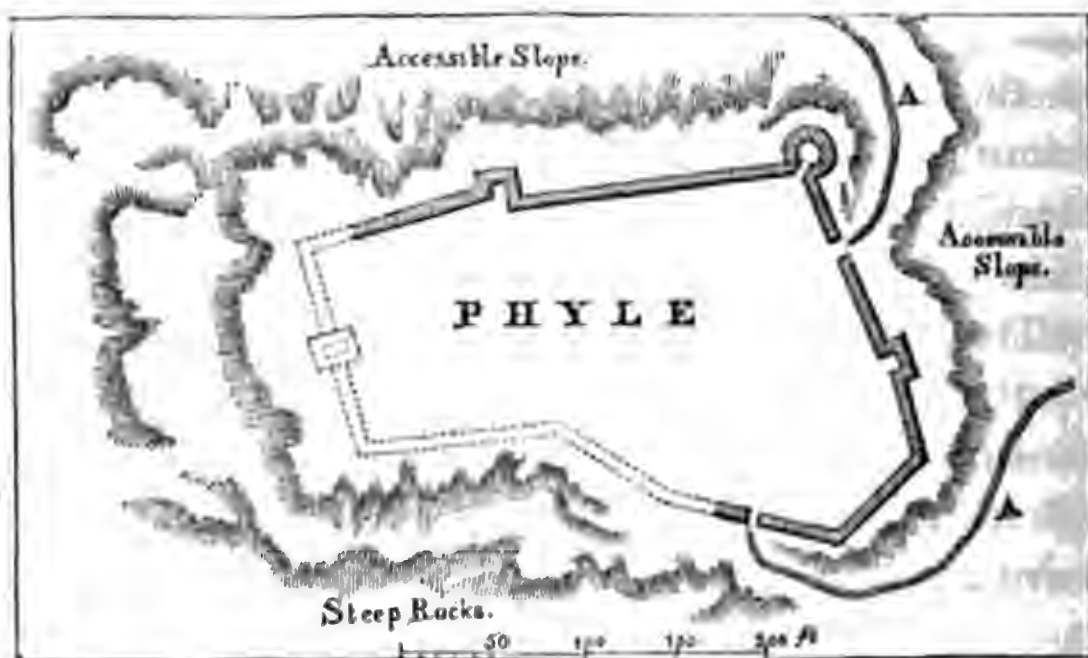
<sup>1</sup> By a common Romaic corruption, the  $\eta$  feminine of this name has been converted into  $\iota$  neuter. The natives now say  $\sigma\tau\acute{o}$   $\phi\upsilon\lambda\iota$ , instead of  $\eta$   $\phi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ . This preservation of the ancient name may not be so well known to the people of Athens, or to those who traffic on the great road from Athens to Thebes; and travellers who make inquiry concerning the modern name of the ruins, may sometimes receive other appellations, such as those noted by Stuart: but the inhabitants of Mount Parnes, and of the neighbouring parts of the Athenian and Thriasian plains, adhere to the ancient name, with the slight change which I have mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Psephisma ap. Demosth. pro Cor. p. 238, Reiske. See above, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Xenoph. Hellen. 2, 4. § 2, seq. Corn. Nep. Thrasyb. 2. Diodorus (14, 32), who makes the distance 100 stades, is not to be regarded in opposition to the Athenian edict.

stands upon a precipitous rock, which affords an approach only by a ridge on the eastern side.

The annexed sketch will show its form, and the smallness of its dimensions. The roads to the two gates exemplify the mode in which the Greeks managed the approaches to their fortifications, so as to oblige the enemy to expose the right or uncovered side of his body.



A. A. Paths of approach to the two gates.

The pass being very narrow, was effectually defended by this small fortress; which, connected as it is with one of the most remarkable events in Athenian history, furnishes the most interesting accompaniment that can be imagined to the magnificent view which the castle commands of the Plain of Athens, the City, Mount Hymettus, and the Saronic Gulf<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In Phyle was a building named the *Δαφνηφόριον*, in which was a picture representing the Thargelia. Athen. 10, 6. p. 424, F. Cas.

To the eastward of *Phyle*, near the sources of <sup>Nymphæum.</sup> the *Ianúla*, in a part of the mountain difficult of access, is a cavern, containing the remains of niches, altars, and inscriptions, which has been described by Dodwell<sup>1</sup>. It is probably the *Nymphæum* near *Phyle*, alluded to in a fragment of *Menander*<sup>2</sup>.

Beyond *Phyle*, towards the summit of the ridge <sup>Harmæ.</sup> and to the left of the modern road, are the ruins of another fortress. This is probably *Harma*, for *Harma* was on *Mount Parnes*<sup>3</sup>, and, according to *Strabo*, near *Phyle*. It appears also, from the same author, to have been near a part of the mountain which formed the boundary of the horizon at *Athens*: for he says, that it was the custom at *Athens* for the *Pythaistæ*, stationed at the altar of *Jupiter Astrapæus* on the city-wall between the *Pythium* and *Olympium*, to watch for the lightning above *Harma*, this being considered a sacred signal for sending off the sacrifices to *Delphi*<sup>4</sup>. Now the part of the

<sup>1</sup> Tour through Greece, I. p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Τὸ Νύμφαιον δ' ὅθεν προίρχομαι, Φυλὴν  
Ἴων. ap. Harpocrat. in Φυλή.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀστραπή δὲ Ἄρματος τόπος Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι, ὅπου Διὸς Ἀστραπαίου ἐστὶ βωμός. Bekker. Anecd. Gr. I. p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> . . . . . ἐτέρᾳ οὖσα τοῦ Ἄρματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ὅ ἐστι περὶ Φυλὴν δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁμορον τῇ Ταναγρικῇ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἢ λέγουσα ὅποταν δὲ Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμόν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄρμα, καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφοὺς, ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν ἐτήρουν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ Ἀστραπαίου Διὸς ἐστὶ δ' αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. Strabo, p. 404. V. et Eustath. in Il. B. 499.

ridge of Parnes to the left of Phyle forms a remarkable feature in the outline of that mountain, as seen from Athens, and thus renders the meaning of Strabo very clear, if we suppose the ruins which I have noticed to have been those of Harma.

**Panactum.** The road from Athens into Bœotia by Phyle, after passing the summit of the ridge, descends into a stony elevated plain. This plain stretches westward to Mount Cithæron, along the northern side of the ridge which, connecting that mountain with Parnes, bounds the Thriasian plain on the north. Towards the eastern end of this elevated plain are the villages Skúrta and Siálesi, near which the road to *Tanagra* and *Chalcis* separates from that leading to Thebes. This plain appears to have been the district of *Panactum*. Inclosed to the north by heights sloping into the Bœotian plains, and to the south by others declining into the plains of Attica, it was precisely such a district as we may suppose to have been often disputed by the two nations. There was an ancient agreement between them, stipulating that the district of Panactum should not be inhabited by either, but that the produce of the lands should be common property<sup>1</sup>. In the Peloponnesian war Panactum became a particular object of contention. In the tenth year of the war it was treacherously delivered up to the Bœotians<sup>2</sup>, and was destroyed by them in the ensuing year<sup>3</sup>. At a later time this district seems to have been ascribed to Bœotia, and to have been included in the Tanagrice;

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. 5, 42.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. 5, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. 5, 42.



for we find not only Harma, which confined upon this district towards Phyle, but the Eleusinia also, described as bordering on the Tanagrice<sup>1</sup>. The latter, therefore, reached as far as the ridge, which, connecting Parnes with Cithæron, covers on the north Phyle, as well as the Thriasian plain, the whole of which Pausanias seems to have comprehended in the Eleusinia.

The westernmost demus of Attica towards Bœotia <sup>Ænoë.</sup> was Ænoë, of the tribe Hippothoontis. Hysiaë and Ænoë were the frontier demi on this side, when Cleomenes, king of Sparta, marched from the Isthmus to Eleusis, in the year B.C. 507<sup>2</sup>. They were then taken by the Bœotians, and Hysiaë seems from that time to have reverted to its ancient condition of a Bœotian town, at least if we suppose it to have been the same as the Hyrie of Homer<sup>3</sup>, while Eleutheræ, once a Bœotian city, had effected a voluntary union with Attica<sup>4</sup>, though probably never acknowledging itself an Attic demus. In fact, assuming the ridge of Cithæron as the boundary, Eleutheræ belonged as naturally to Attica, as Hysiaë to Bœotia. Ænoë stood in a narrow valley at the ascent of Cithæron, leading from the plain of Eleutheræ into the Plataeis, and near where the road

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 404. See above, p. 127, n. 4.

Μελάνωπος σφίσειν ἐστὶ καὶ Μακάρτατος ὀνόματα, οὓς κατέλαβεν ἀποθανεῖν ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένους, ἐνθα τῆς Ἐλευσινίας εἰσὶ χώρας πρὸς Ταναγραίους ὄροι. Pausan. Attic. 29, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Οἶνόην αἰρέουσι καὶ Ὑσίας δῆμονες τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Herodot. 5, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Il. B. 496.

<sup>4</sup> Pausan. Attic. 38, 8.

Pythium.

from Megara to Thebes joined that from Athens and Eleusis. It was therefore an essential point for securing the communication of the Athenians with Plataea, as well as to protect Eleutheræ and Eleusis. Hence it was fortified prior to the Peloponnesian war<sup>1</sup>, and became one of the most important defences of the Attic frontier. It still exists in ruins under the name of Ghyftó-kastro, and is one of the most complete examples of a Greek fortress extant. At a distance of about four miles from it to the south-eastward, are the ruins of Eleutheræ, now called Myúpoli. We may remark that this situation of Ænoë accords perfectly with that of the Pythium or temple of Apollo Pythius, at Ænoë, in the ὁδὸς Πυθιάς or sacred road from Athens to Delphi, by Panopæa<sup>2</sup>, as well as with the circumstance mentioned by Thucydides, of the Corinthians having suffered from a sortie of the Athenians from Ænoë, in their way from Deceleia to the Isthmus<sup>3</sup>; for this castle was situated so near to the right of the route of the Corinthians, as to have given the garrison great facilities for such an enterprise. It was soon afterwards besieged by the Corinthians and Bœotians, and betrayed to them by one of the oligarchical party at Athens<sup>4</sup>; but was probably soon recovered by the Athenians, though this

<sup>1</sup> ἡ γὰρ Οἰνὴ οὔσα ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο καὶ αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὅποτε πόλεμος καταλάβοι. Thucyd. 2, 18.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα . . . ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν δ' ὁρμηθέντα ἐπὶ Δελφούς, ταύτην ἰέναι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Πυθιάδα πέμπουσι· γενόμενον δὲ κατὰ Πανοπέας, &c. Strabo, p. 422.

<sup>3</sup> Thucyd. 8, 98.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. *ibid.*

event is not mentioned by the historian, for it continued to be a demus in the time of the Roman empire<sup>1</sup>.

The sanctity of this Pythium conferred upon Cenoë the epithet of Sacred<sup>2</sup>, and its antiquity is shown by its connexion with the early history of Athens: according to Philochorus, it was the northern boundary of the kingdom of Nisus, when the Megaris and Attica were divided between the four sons of Pandion<sup>3</sup>. From hence the Pythaistæ on declaring the prognostics favourable, sent the θεωρία or sacred mission to Delphi, in the same manner as the Deliaistæ at Marathon, from whence the theoria commenced its journey to Prasias, to embark for Delus<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Travels in Northern Greece, for some further remarks on the ancient names of Ghyftó-kastro and Myúpoli, upon which there has been great difference of opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Liban. Declam. 16. Id. in Demosth. Apolog. I. p. 451.

<sup>3</sup> Φιλόχορος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Ἰσθμοῦ μέχρι Πυθίου διήκειν αὐτοῦ (Nisi sc.) φησι τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἄνδρων δὲ μέχρι Ἐλευσίνος καὶ τοῦ Θριασίου πεδίου. Strabo, p. 392.

Πανδίων γὰρ δεξάμενος τὴν Κέκροπος βασιλείαν, προσκτησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Μεγαρίδα, ἔνειμε τὴν χώραν τοῖς παισὶν εἰς ὅμοιρας, Αἰγέῃ μὲν τὴν παρὰ τῷ Ἄστει μέχρι Πυθίου, Πάλλαντι δὲ τὴν Παραλίαν, Λύκῳ δὲ τὴν Διακρίαν, Νίσῳ δὲ τὴν Μεγαρίδα. Schol. Aristoph. Lysist. 58. See above, p. 25, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ὅταν δὲ σημεῖα γένηται παραδεδομένα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, τότε ἀποστέλλουσι τὴν θεωρίαν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους, Πυθίαι δὲ καὶ Δηλιάδες, ὅποτερὰ ἂν καθήκη αὐτοῖς· θύει δὲ ὁ μάντις ὅταν μὲν τὰ εἰς Δέλφους πόμπιμα γένηται, καὶ θεωρία πέμπηται, ἐν Οἰνῳ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ· εἰ δὲ εἰς Δῆλον ἀποστέλλοιτο ἡ θεωρία κατὰ τὰ προειρημένα, θύει ὁ μάντις εἰς τὸ ἐν Μαραθῶνι Δῆλιον· καὶ ἔστιν ἱεροσκοπία τῆς μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίας ἐν τῷ

Melænæ.

The demus of Melænæ was evidently situated on this part of the Attic frontier: of two authors who relate the well-known stratagem of Melanthus, by which he slew Xanthus king of Bœotia in single combat<sup>1</sup>, one (Polyænus) makes the subject of contention to have been Melænæ, which he describes as a castle on the frontier of Attica and Bœotia<sup>2</sup>: the other (Conon) supposes it to have been Cœnoë<sup>3</sup>.

At the convent of St. Meletius, which stands on the southern side of the ridge connecting Parnes with Cithæron, and in a situation similar to that of Cœnoë, which is not far distant to the westward, are the remains of Hellenic walls indicative of an ancient site. The groves and fountains, which maintain the verdure of this pleasant spot, accord with the epithet bestowed by the Latin poet upon Melænæ<sup>4</sup>. Nor is the situation less adapted to the description of Melænæ, as a castle on the frontier, for this situation would exactly serve to complete a chain of fortresses

κατὰ τὴν Οἰνόνην Πυθίῳ· τῆς δὲ εἰς Δῆλον, ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Μαραθῶνα Δηλίῳ. Philochorus ap. Schol. CEd. Col. v. 1102.

<sup>1</sup> Melanthus reproached his opponent for not coming alone to the combat. Μὴν ἀδικεῖς δεύτερος ἰὼν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην; and slew him as he looked round in consequence of these words.

<sup>2</sup> . . . ἐπολέμουν Μελαινῶν πέρι· Μελαιναὶ χωρίον μεθόριον Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας. Polyæn. Strateg. 1, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Conon, ap. Phot. Myriobib. p. 447. narr. 39. V. et Procl. in Tim. Platon. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Icarii, Celeique domus, viridesque Melænæ. Stat. Theb. 12, 619.

Melænæ was sometimes called Celænæ, a synonymous word. Callim. ap. Stephan. in Μελαινεῖς. Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 146. Pa. 890. Suid. in Ἀπατούρια, Κελαιναί.



defending the passes of the Attic mountains towards Bœotia, of which the other links were Œnoë, Harma, Phyle, Deceleia, and Sphendale.

‘ Drymus was another place on this part of the Drymus. frontier <sup>1</sup>, and we may suppose, from the name, that it was among the woods of the Parnetho-Cithæronian ridges.

<sup>1</sup> *περὶ Δρύμου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Πανάκτῳ χώρας.* Demosth. de fals. leg. p. 446, Reiske. Harpocration (in *Δρυμὸς*) entitles it a πόλις, and cites Aristotle, as asserting that there was a Bœotian as well as an Attic Drymus. According to Hesychius (in v.) it was a fortress. *Δρυμὸς καὶ χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ φρούριον.*

## SECTION V.

### *The Demi to the Westward of the Plain of Athens including Salamis.*

It has been found convenient to reserve for this place all remarks on the Sacred Way, or road to Eleusis, as it was the main route from Athens to the western demi of Attica. The following enumeration of the principal objects on that celebrated road is extracted from Pausanias<sup>1</sup>, who, in addition to his own observations, had probably before him those of Polemo<sup>2</sup>, who had preceded him about 350 years.

The first monument was that of the herald Anthemocritus, slain by the Megarenses, to whom he had been sent, to desire that they would no longer cultivate the (sacred) land<sup>3</sup>. Next to the pillar (στήλην) of Anthemocritus<sup>4</sup> occurred the tomb

<sup>1</sup> Attic. 36, 3 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Harpocrat. in Ἱερὰ Ὁδός.

<sup>3</sup> "For this most impious action," adds Pausanias, "they suffer the vengeance of the goddesses to this day: for they alone, among the Greeks, have not been benefited by the Emperor Hadrian."

<sup>4</sup> It was surmounted by a statue: Ἰσαῖος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Καλυδῶνα "τότε βαλανεῖον τὸ παρ' Ἀνθεμοκρίτου ἀνδριάντα," τουτέστι παρὰ ταῖς Θριασίαις πύλαις. Harpocrat. in Ἀνθεμόκριτος.

(τάφος) of Molossus<sup>1</sup>; then the place Scirum<sup>2</sup>, near a torrent of the same name, so called from Scirus, a prophet of Dodona, who fell in the battle between the Eleusinii and Erechtheus, and who was buried by the Eleusinii near this torrent: he was the same who founded the ancient temple of Minerva Sciras at Phalerum. Near Scirum was the tomb of Cephisodorus, who, when he presided over the Athenians, was very hostile to Philip son of Demetrius, and caused the kings Attalus of Mysia and Ptolemæus of Egypt, together with the Ætolians, Rhodii, Cretans, and Romans, to enter into alliance with the Athenians against him. Next to the monument of Cephisodorus was the tomb of Heliodorus of Halæ<sup>3</sup>, whose picture was in the great temple of Minerva; and that of Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, the third in descent from the Themistocles who fought against Xerxes. A little further onward was the sacred

<sup>1</sup> In the year 350 B. C. Plutarchus of Eretria came to Athens, to ask for succour against Philip son of Amyntas, who had invaded Eubœa with his Macedonians. Phocion, who was sent thither in consequence, gained an advantage over the enemy at Tamynæ; Molossus, his successor, was taken by the enemy. Plutarch. Phocion. 13. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The same probably as the τόπος Σκίρα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ of Strabo (p. 393). It was, like the Ceramic gates, a noted station for Athenian women of a particular class. Hence its name occurs in the Epistles of Alciphron, coupled with the Cerameicus. See above, p. 74. n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡλιοδῶρος Ἀλις are the words in all the editions of Pausanias: where possibly Ἀλις is an error for Ἀλαιεύς. The two Heliodori most celebrated were the περιηγητής, (see Topography of Athens, p. 36, n.) and a poet both in the heroic and dramatic line. Galen. περὶ ἀντιδότων. Stephan. in Φυλακῇ. Stobæi Serm. 98.

enclosure (τέμενος) of the hero Laci<sup>us</sup>, and the demus Lacidæ. Here was the monument of Nicocles of Tarentum, the most celebrated of all players on the cithara, an altar of Zephyrus, and a temple (ἱερόν) of Ceres and her daughter, in which Minerva and Neptune were also worshipped. Here Phytalus was said to have received Ceres into his house, and to have been rewarded by the goddess with a plant of the fig-tree<sup>1</sup>, an event recorded by an epigram on the tomb of Phytalus. Before the crossing of the Cephissus occurred the monument of Theodorus, who excelled all others of his time as an actor of tragedies<sup>2</sup>. On the river's side were statues of Mnesimache, and of her son, cutting off his hair, as an offering to the river Cephissus. On the farther side of the river was an ancient altar of Jupiter Meilichius, at which Theseus was said to have received lustration<sup>3</sup> from the descendants of Phytalus for the slaughter of his kinsman Sinis and the other robbers<sup>4</sup>. Here was the tomb of Theodectes of Phaselis<sup>5</sup>, and that of Mnesitheus, who was said to have been an

<sup>1</sup> Hence the place was often known by the name of the sacred fig-tree (ἱερὰ συκῆ). Athen. 3, 2, p. 74 D. Ἱερὰ . . . ἡ συκῆ ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἑλευσίνα ἀγούσῃ ὁδῷ. Hesych. in Ἱερὰ θυσία. The mystic procession rested at the sacred fig-tree on its return to Athens. Philost. Sophist. 2, 20. § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. 14, 40. Plutarch. Sympos. 9, 2. de ipsius laude, 17.

<sup>3</sup> i. e. previously to entering Athens.

<sup>4</sup> i. e. whom he had met with on his way from Træzen.

<sup>5</sup> A tragic poet and rhetorician. Diog. Laërt. 5, 24. Stephan. in Φασηλίς. Suid. in Θεοδέκτης. Vit. X. Rhet. in Isocrat. where the remark occurs that his monument was near the



excellent physician, and to have dedicated several statues, among which was one of Iacchus. On the road side was a small temple, (*ναὸς οὐ μέγας*), called the temple of Cyameites<sup>1</sup>. But the most remarkable monuments, both for magnitude and ornament, were that of a Rhodian who dwelt at Athens, and that which was built by Harpalus, a Macedonian, in honour of his wife Pythionice, who had been a courtesan at Athens and at Corinth<sup>2</sup>. "This," adds Pausanias, "was the most remarkable of all the sepulchral monuments in Greece." He then proceeds to say, "There is a temple, in which are statues of Ceres and Proserpine, of Minerva and Apollo; but which originally was sacred to Apollo alone. It is said that

Cyamitis (*ἐπὶ τὴν Κυαμίτιν*). Theodectes was famous for unravelling and proposing riddles (*γρίφοι*). Hermippus ap. Athen. 10, 19. p. 451 E.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias adds, "I cannot say with certainty whether this person first sowed beans, or whether they have honoured some hero of this name. That the invention of the cultivation of beans cannot be attributed to Ceres, any one will understand who knows the initiation at Eleusis, or who has read the Orphica." Photius and the author of the *Lexicon Rhetoricum* (Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 274.) understood Cyameites to be the name of a hero: Hesychius, that it was an epithet of Bacchus.

<sup>2</sup> Diodor. 17, 108. Plutarch. Demosth. 25. Athen. 13, 7. 595 B. Harpalus, having amassed immense wealth as governor of Babylon, deserted his master, Alexander, and retired with the greater part of his property to Athens. After having been banished from thence, he was slain in Crete by his pretended friend Thimbron. Arrian. ap. Phot. Myriobib. p. 218. Strabo, p. 837. Plutarch (Phocion 22) says, that Harpalus gave Charicles, son-in-law of Phocion, thirty talents to build the monument of Pythionice, but that there was nothing in the work answerable to this expense.

when Cephalus, son of Deïoneus, fled from Athens to Thebes on account of the murder of his wife Procris, he went with Amphitryon, to the Teleboæ; that he was the first to inhabit the island, which from him is now called Cephallenia: and that Chalceinus, and Dætus, his descendants in the tenth generation, having sailed to Delphi to consult the god concerning their return to Athens, were ordered to sacrifice to Apollo in that part of Attica, where they should see a trireme running upon the ground. When they arrived at the mountain called Pœcilum, a serpent appeared retiring hastily into its hole. Here they sacrificed to Apollo, and arriving afterwards at Athens were made citizens by the Athenians. Beyond this [place] there is a temple (*ναός*) of Venus, and before it a wall of rude stones, worthy of observation."

"The Rheiti resemble rivers in their running only, for the water is salt; which might lead one to believe that they flow under ground from the Euripus of the Chalcidenses into a lower sea<sup>1</sup>. The Rheiti are said to be sacred to Ceres and her daughter, whose priests alone are allowed to take fish out of them. I have understood that, anciently, they were the boundary of the Athenians and Eleusinii<sup>2</sup>." After passing the Rheiti was the

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere Pausanias compares the flowing of the Eraseinus from Stymphalus under ground into the plain of Argos, to the course of the Rheiti from the Euripus to the sea of Eleusis. (Corinth. 24, 7.) The former supposition is probably true, the latter is obviously a vulgar error.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. in the time of the twelve cities.

place "where Crocon was said to have first inhabited, and which is still called the palace of Crocon<sup>1</sup>." On this part of the Sacred Way was the monument of Eumolpus and heroa of Hippothoon and Zarex. "The Cephissus, near Eleusis, flows with a more rapid stream than the former<sup>2</sup>. Near it is the place called Erineus, where they say that Pluto descended when he carried off Proserpine. It was at the Cephissus that Theseus slew the robber Polypemon, surnamed Procrustes<sup>3</sup>."

The natural objects mentioned by Pausanias in the preceding description of the Sacred Way, will enable us to restrict within narrow limits the doubtful situation of all the artificial monuments. The most important of those natural landmarks are, the Cephissus of the Athenian plain, the salt-springs called the Rheiti, which, crossing the narrow pass at the entrance of the Thriasian plain, formed the natural boundary of the Athenians and Eleusinii, and thirdly, the stream not far to the eastward of the site of Eleusis, which being often entirely dry, but occasionally descending from the mountains with a broad and impetuous torrent, thus corresponds to the description of Pausanias; who, as we have just seen, contrasts its rapidity with the even course of the Athenian Cephissus.

<sup>1</sup> Crocon, according to the citizens of the demus Scambonidæ, married Sæsara, daughter of Celeus. Pausan. *ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. than the Cephissus of the plain of Athens.

<sup>3</sup> At Erineus, according to Plutarch (*Thes.* 11), who names him Damastes, not Polypemon.

To these we may add the torrent Scirus, corresponding to that which rises in the *Lycabettian* hills, and one branch of which seems formerly to have followed for a considerable distance the northern walls of the city, and, after uniting with one or two other torrents from the same hills, to have crossed the Sacred Way, about midway between Dipylum and the Cephissus. These streams are now for the most part lost in olive-groves near the site of the Academy, but there is still a watercourse nearly in the situation just indicated.

R. Cephissus.

In the ages which have elapsed since the visit of Pausanias to Attica, some change appears to have taken place in the Athenian Cephissus. When its margin was adorned with temples, statues, and villas, it flowed in a single channel, and was probably carefully embanked: it is now allowed to find its way through the olive-groves in several streams, from which there are many smaller derivations for the purpose of watering olive-trees and gardens<sup>1</sup>. In the part of the plain which is crossed by the Sacred Way, there are now three principal channels.

Rheiti.

The Rheiti have also an appearance somewhat different from that which they presented to Pausanias. In his time there seem to have been several sources issuing from the foot of the mountain, which

<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that a great part of the water of the Cephissus was anciently diverted from the main stream for the same purposes; but it was probably done with better economy, and Pausanias shews that the river had one channel only.



formed pools sufficiently large to contain fishes, and having a discharge across the Sacred Way into the sea. The same copious springs are still to be observed at the foot of Mount Ægaleos; but the water, instead of being permitted to take its natural course to the sea, is now collected into an artificial reservoir, formed by a stone wall towards the road. This work has been constructed for the purpose of turning two mills, below which the two streams cross the Sacred Way into the sea.

The situation of the tomb of Scirus is marked by Scira. the torrent already mentioned; and not far beyond it was the tomb of Cephisodorus. The uncertainty as to the situation of the ancient bed of the Cephissus, renders doubtful the exact position of the monuments which stood upon its bank, or that of the temple of Ceres, or of any of the other objects noticed by Pausanias between the tomb of Cephisodorus and the river. The greater part of the space Lacienses. between the torrent of Scirus and the river belonged, probably, to the demus of Lacidæ, as the name is written in our copies of Pausanias, but which in inscriptions is *Λακιδῆς* or *Λακκιδᾶι*.

Pausanias has made no mention of any bridge Gephyra. across the Cephissus, though we know from Strabo, that it was at the bridge of the Cephissus<sup>1</sup> that an ancient custom was observed, of assailing passengers as they crossed this bridge, in the sacred procession to Eleusis, with vulgar abuse and coarse

<sup>1</sup> Not the Eleusinian Cephissus, as Bartholemy has supposed. Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, c. 68.

jest, hence called Gephyrismi<sup>1</sup>. Possibly, neither the bridge nor the custom any longer existed in the time of Pausanias.

Cyameitis.

A small church, at the western end of the olive-wood, may perhaps (as Greek churches often occupy the site of ancient temples) represent the position of the temple of Cyameites. Proceeding from hence, the direction of the Sacred Way is clearly marked by the remains of ancient monuments on either side of it, but there are no ruins of sufficient magnitude to determine the site of the two great sepulchral edifices described by Pausanias. From a remark of Plutarch relating to that of Pythionice, we learn very nearly the position of the demus Hermus. He describes that monument as having been in Hermus, on the road from Athens to Eleusis<sup>2</sup>.

Hermus.

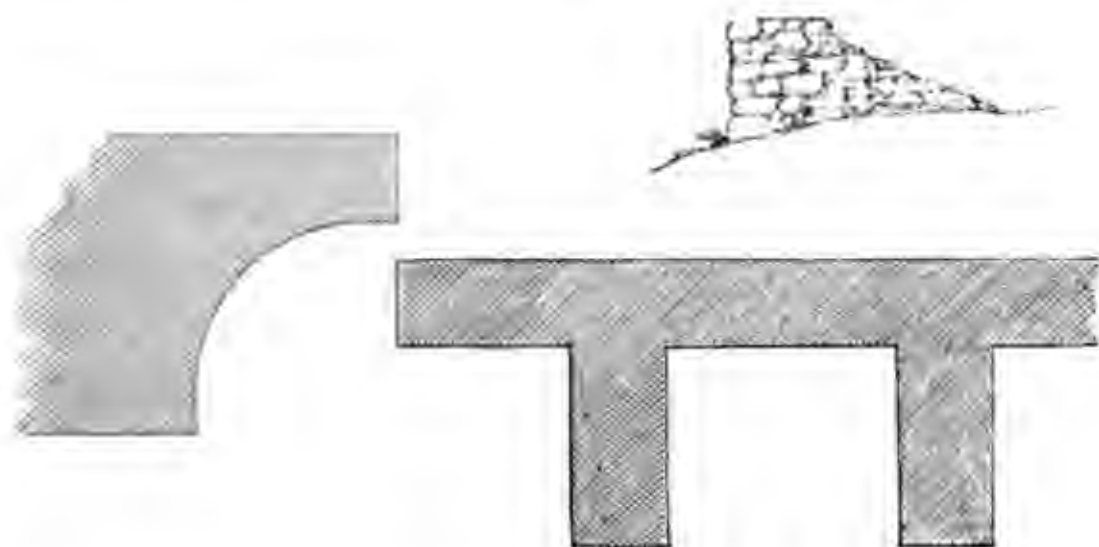
On the ascent of Mount Ægaleos are seen some

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 400. See Meursii Eleusinia, 27. Attic. Lect. 5, 31. It is supposed, (V. Larcher, Hist. d'Hérodote, 5, note 141.) that the word Γέφυρα, for which no etymology can be found in Greek, was applied to this bridge, (and afterwards to all others,) in consequence of its situation being the residence assigned to the Gephyraei, when on their expulsion from Bœotia they were received into Attica. The Gephyraei were a tribe of Phœnicians who accompanied Cadmus into Greece; and who inhabited the part of Bœotia which was afterwards the Tanagrace, where their name and memory remained in the time of the Roman empire. Among the Athenians they became particularly noted as having produced the family of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Herodot. 5, 55, 57. Strabo, p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> διαμένει γὰρ ἔτι νῦν ἐν Ἑρμείῃ ἢ βαδίζομεν ἐξ ἄστεος εἰς Ἐλευσίνα. Plutarch. Phocion. 22.

traces of the ancient road in the rock, as well as several foundations of walls, for the defence of the pass through which the Sacred Way traversed the mountain to the bay of Eleusis. An insulated hill, crowned by a church of St. Elias, stands a little in advance of the pass towards Athens, and is remarkable for its conspicuous position and form. Although no remains of antiquity are here observable, the church has probably succeeded to a temple of the Hermeii. The pass is a narrow rocky opening between two summits of Ægaleos: it was very important in a military point of view, as it formed the direct approach to Athens from the Peloponnesus and the western parts of Attica, and was at the same time very easily defensible by art. On the summit of the mountain, to the left, are remains of a circular Hellenic tower, which appears to have corresponded with another on the summit above Khaidári. These towers evidently belonged to a system of works erected for the defence of the approach to Athens from the west, and of which the points chiefly requiring defence, besides the passes of Corydallus and of the Sacred Way, were some openings in the heights, which separate the plain of Acharnæ from that of Thria, connecting the range of Ægaleos with the last falls of Mount Parnes. Here are found the ruins of a rampart seven feet high, and five feet and a half thick, formed of the rudest kind of masonry in use among the Greeks, but faced with more regular stones. It is built along the crest of the hills: the summit of the wall forms a commanding platform towards the Thriasian Plain; the access to it from the rear was by a succession of sloping ramps or buttresses, and

there were narrow openings in the wall, at unequal distances, formed in such a manner that the inner face of one piece of wall advanced two feet and a half beyond the outer face of the next piece, as expressed in the annexed figure.



It is obvious that such a rampart was an effectual defence against incursions of cavalry from the Thriasian Plain, while it furnished considerable advantages also to a defending force of infantry.

In reading the remarks of Pausanias on the temple of Apollo, the mountain named Pæcilum, and the temple of Venus, the topographical relation of these places to one another is not immediately apparent, but an inspection of the places affords the requisite explanation.

At the western extremity of a level which forms the narrowest and highest part of the opening across the range of *Ægaleos*, stands the monastery of Dhafni.

The construction of the church and surrounding enclosure, and particularly a high square belfry,



which is attached to the church and is surmounted by a small dome, are in the style of the churches in Syria built at the time of the crusades, and seem to indicate that the monastery of Dhafni as it now exists was built, or at least largely repaired, by one of the Frank princes of Athens. Both the church and enclosing walls are formed for the most part of squared blocks of marble, which had formed part of some Hellenic building; and until the year 1801 three fluted Ionic columns belonging to the same edifice were immured in one of the walls of the church. In that year they were removed by the Earl of Elgin. The capitals of these columns, a base and a part of one of the shafts, are now in the British Museum. It was not found possible, when the columns were taken down, to trace the plan of the temple; but it is evident, from the size of the columns, that its dimensions must have been considerable.

There can be no doubt that this was the temple of Apollo on Mount Pæcillum, mentioned by Pausanias<sup>1</sup>; for, by following the descent of the pass toward the Bay of Eleusis, traces of the Sacred Road are seen in the rock on the left bank of a torrent which descends from Dhafni: the road was partly cut in the rock, and partly supported by a wall of rough stones toward the torrent; and these traces lead, at a distance of less than a mile from Dhafni, to the foundations of another temple on the

<sup>1</sup> The modern appellation of Dhafni may perhaps have been derived from a grove of sacred laurel, (*δαφνη*) which may have been a remarkable feature of this pass, at the time when new names were substituted for those derived from the ancient mythology. There are none of these trees, however, at present.

side of the Sacred Way, exactly answering in position to the Temple of Venus, the last object mentioned by Pausanias prior to his notice of the Rheiti. This temple appears from some fragments to have been of the Doric order; it stood on the northern side of the valley, below some rocks, the face of which is smoothed perpendicularly, and cut into numerous niches for votive offerings.

Temple of  
Venus.

On digging at the foot of the rocks, doves of white marble have been found, which appear to have fallen from the votive niches; and, as a still more decisive proof that the Temple of Venus stood on this spot, the remains of several Inscriptions are still visible under the niches, in two of which the words *Φίλῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ* are to be distinguished. Here therefore stood the temple of Venus called the Philæum, or temple of Venus Phila, built by one of the flatterers of Demetrius Poliorcetes, in honour of Phila, the wife of Demetrius<sup>1</sup>. It is probable that a temple of Venus existed in this place before the time of Demetrius, and that the worship of Phila ceased to be here connected with that of Venus after the decline of the Macedonian power at Athens; hence Pausanias, who is generally unwilling to advert to the examples of unworthy flattery which so frequently disgraced the Grecian character after the time of Alexander, may have mentioned only the existence of a temple of Venus.

<sup>1</sup> Alexis ap. Athen. 6, 16. p. 254 A. Dionysius Tryphonis, *ibid.* p. 255 C. In the latter place, the Philæum is said to have been at Thria (Θρηῖσιν): if any reliance, therefore, can be placed on the topographical accuracy of Dionysius, this part of the pass of Dhafni was within the limits of the demus of Thria.

Some remains of "the wall of rude stones," are still to be seen. It formed a part of the peribolus of the temple, and has an appearance of remote antiquity, the stones resembling the irregular masses of the walls of Tiryns<sup>1</sup>. A little westward of the temple are the foundations of a square tower, similarly constructed; this was probably another work for the defence of the pass. Descending from thence, remains are seen of walls, which supported the Sacred Way on either side: the pass then widens, and terminates at a small cultivated level on the shore of the Bay of Eleusis. The Sacred Way is again traced by tracks of wheels in the rocks above the reservoir of the Rheiti, and again between the two mills. The modern road to Eleusis, instead of coinciding with the ancient track, which passed above the Rheiti, leaving them to the left, follows the shore, leaving the reservoir and mills on the right. About half a mile beyond the Rheiti, where the road to Eleutheræ branches off across the plain to the right, the traces of the ancient causeway of the Sacred Way are again seen, and on the right side of it are ruins of an ancient monument, Tomb of Strato. which appears to have consisted originally of a cubical mass of earth, cased with white marble, supporting a sepulchral stele. Some decorations of sculpture are still to be seen on the marble, and an inscription which shows that it was the tomb of Straton, a demotes of Cydathenæum, and of his

<sup>1</sup> Thus we perceive the meaning which Pausanias attached to the words ἀργοὶ λίθοι which often occur in his work.



wife and son<sup>1</sup>. This monument has not been noticed by Pausanias; though its construction and inscription have every appearance of being more ancient than his time: nor has he noticed another monument, of which the position is indicated by several squared blocks of marble to the left of the Sacred Way near the sea. These omissions are not surprising; for it is evident from the numerous traces of ancient sepulchres on either side of the Sacred Way, that here Pausanias, as in other parts of his work, as indeed he more than once informs us, has selected those objects only which appeared to him the most interesting. The work of Polemo on the Sacred Way contained, it may be supposed, a description of all those extant in his time.

Beyond the sepulchre of Strato the Sacred Way is again traced in the form of a raised causeway, this part of the plain being very low, and subject to inundation from the torrent already mentioned, which rises on the ridge of Mount Parnes above Phyle, and which, after turning to the westward a little above the modern village Khassiá, descends into the *Thriasian* plain, and is lost in the

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is as follows :

Στράτων Ἰσιδότης Κυδα(θηναίης)  
Πώλλα Μονατία Ἡράκλεια.  
Ἰσίδοτος Στράτωνος Κυδαθηναίης.

The name of Strato's demus is almost erased; but we can have little doubt that it was the same as that of his son. The lady was a foreigner, and a native of one of the numerous *Heracleiæ*; coins alone can tell which.



low grounds on the shore of the bay. These low grounds extend as far as Eleusis, where they are kept in a marshy state the greater part of the year, by the overflowings of another similar but larger torrent, the Eleusinian Cephissus, now called Sarandáforo.

About a mile beyond the tomb of Strato, Chandler observed the remains of another monument. From a stone in the ruins of a church, which had been built upon it, he copied an inscription in honour of a hierophant. This, therefore, seems to have been another monument of the Sacred Way, which has not been noticed by Pausanias. The causeway still consists of ancient materials, mixed with repairs of the various ages, during which it has never ceased to be used as the common road from Athens to the *Isthmus* by the way of Eleusis.

The plain through which it is conducted was anciently known by the name of Thriasian (τὸ Θριάσιον Πεδίον), being so called, or at least the greater part of it, and particularly all the central portion, as well as the eastern part adjacent to the shore<sup>1</sup>, from the demus to which it belonged<sup>2</sup>, and which, from this fact, we may infer to have been one among the largest of the Attic demi. When the Persians were for the second time in possession of Athens, under the command of Mardonius, and the Athenians had retired into Salamis, the latter despatched an embassy to the Lacedæmonians, re-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 395. See below, p. 165, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Θριάσιον πεδίον . . . . . θρίαι δέ εἰσιν αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι . . . . τὸ μαντεύεσθαι θριᾶσθαι. Bekker Anecd. Gr. I. p. 265.

Thria.

questing them to send troops to their assistance, and proposing to fight the Barbarians in the plain of Thria<sup>1</sup>. The same importance is attached to Thria, or its plain, on two occasions, in which Thucydides mentions the irruption of the Lacedæmonians into Attica<sup>2</sup>; and its position is not less accurately indicated by Strabo<sup>3</sup> and by Galen; the latter of whom, describing his journey from Corinth to Athens, mentions that he passed by Megara, Eleusis, and the Thriasian plain<sup>4</sup>. The site of the town of *Thria* may perhaps be indicated by some vestiges of antiquity at a height called *Magúla*<sup>5</sup>, on the *Sarandáforo*, or *Eleusinian Cephissus*, about three miles above Eleusis.

As the Thriasii occupied the greater part of the plain in which Eleusis is situated, so the demus of Eleusis extended westward as far as the Megaris; the river Iapis formed the boundary between them<sup>6</sup>; the mission of Anthemocritus, who was slain by the Megarenses, was for the purpose of remonstrating with that people for cultivating a part of the Sacred or Eleusinian Land<sup>7</sup>.

The modern villages which divide the *Thriasian* and *Eleusinian* plain among them are—*Lepsína*, towards the sea; *Stefáni*, on Mount *Pæcilum*;

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 9, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Thucyd. 1, 114. 2, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, p. 392, 395.

<sup>4</sup> Galen. de Diagnos. atque Med. Affect. I. p. 354.

<sup>5</sup> *Magúla* is a name often applied, in modern Greece, to a site retaining remains of ancient buildings, and particularly when situated upon a rising ground in a plain.

<sup>6</sup> Scylax in Megara. Callim. ap. Stephan. in *Ἰαπίς*.

<sup>7</sup> Pausan. Attic. 36, 3. Lacon. 4, 5.

Khassiá, in Mount *Parnes*; and Kúndura, in the *Oneia*. Stefáni, Khassiá, and Kúndura, possess Kaly'via, or dependent hamlets in the plain.

There is some reason to think, from a passage in Œa. the Œdipus Coloneus, when coupled with the remarks of a scholiast, who appears to have been well acquainted with Attic topography, or at least to have followed some good Attic authority, that the hills which lie to the northward of the pass of Pæcilum, between the plain of Athens and the plain of Thria (often called without any sufficient reason Mount Icarius), were occupied by the demus of Oa, or Œa (OH, OIH <sup>1</sup>). In that tragedy, when Creon has sent away the daughters of Œdipus from Colonus on the road to Thebes, and when Theseus has despatched his Athenians to bring them back, the Chorus anticipates a hostile engagement between the two parties; either at "the Pythian coasts, or at Eleusis, or to the west of the white hill, at the pastures of Œa <sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Œa is said to have derived its name from a daughter of Cephalus. Philochorus ap. Harpocrat. in Οἷη.

<sup>2</sup>

Εἶην ὅθι δαΐων  
 ἀνδρῶν τάχ' ἐπιστροφαῖ  
 τὸν χαλκοβόαν Ἄρη  
 μίξουσιν, ἥ πρὸς Πυθίαις,  
 ἥ λαμπάσιν ἄκταϊς,  
 οὗ πότνιαι σεμναὶ τιθη-  
 νοῦνται τέλη  
 θνατοῖσιν, ὧν καὶ χρυσέα  
 κληῖς ἐπὶ γλώσση βέβακεν  
 προσπόλων Εὐμολπιᾶν.  
 Ἐνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν  
 Οησέα καὶ τὰς διστόλους  
 ἀδμήτας ἀδελφάς

By Πυθίαις ἀκταῖς the poet may have meant either the temple of Apollo in the pass of Pœcilum, or the Pythium of Cœnoe; the latter having been equally in the route from Colonus to Thebes by the Thriasian plain. On the former supposition the battle would have occurred in the Thriasian plain, in the latter in that of Eleutheræ. The second place described by the Chorus with poetical circumlocution is obviously Eleusis. As to the third place, expressed by the words ἐφέσπερον πέτρας νιφάδος Οἰάτιδος ἐκ νομοῦ, the Scholiast interprets them to mean “to the westward of Mount Ægaleos;” which he says “borders on the

αὐτάρκει τάχ' ἐμμίξιν βοᾷ  
τούσδ' ἀνὰ χώρους.

Ἦ πον τὸν ἐφέσπερον  
πέτρας νιφάδος πελῶ-  
σ' Οἰάτιδος ἐκ νομοῦ,  
πώλοισιν ἢ ῥιμφαρμάτοις  
φεύγοντες ἀμίλλαις;  
ἀλώσεται δεινός γ' ὁ προσ-  
χώρων Ἄρης,  
δεινὰ δὲ Θησεῖδ' ἀκμά.

Sophoc. CEd. Col. v. 1099.

*Thus translated by Francklin.*

Oh! could I hear the dreadful battle roar,  
Or near Apollo's sacred shrine,  
Or on thy torch-enlighten'd shore,  
Oh Ceres, where thy priests their rites divine  
Perform with lips in solemn silence seal'd,  
And mysteries ne'er by mortal tongue reveal'd.  
At yon snowy mountain's feet  
Westward perchance the warriors meet,  
Chariot and horse with mutual rage  
On Cæa's flowery plains engage, &c.



demus of Æa;" and he conceives the "snowy stone" to be a white rock on the summit of that mountain, vulgarly known in the time of Istrus, or two centuries after that of Sophocles, by the name of λεία πέτρα, or the smooth rock. Now, as we cannot suppose the poet to have intended any part of the range of Ægaleos to the southward of the pass of Dhafni<sup>1</sup> (for that division of the mountain

<sup>1</sup> ("Ἡ που τὸν ἐφέσπερον) τὸν Αἰγάλεων φησι· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπ' ἐσχάτων ἐστὶ τοῦ δήμου τούτου· καταλέγουσι δὲ χωρία, παρ' ἃ μάλιστα εἰκάζουσι τὴν συμβολὴν γενέσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κρίοντα καὶ Θησέα· πέτρας δὲ νιφάδος εἴη ἂν λέγων τὴν οὕτω λεγομένην λείαν πέτραν ἢ τὸν Αἰγάλεων λόφον· ἃ δὲ ἐπιχώρια φασὶν εἶναι, καθάπερ Ἰστρος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀτάκτων ἱστορεῖ οὕτως, "ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς χαράδρας ἐπὶ τὴν λείαν πέτραν," καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα, "ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἕως Κολωνοῦ παρὰ τὸν χάλκον προσαγορευόμενον·" ὅθεν πρὸς τὸν Κηφισσοῦν ἕως τῆς μυστικῆς εἰσόδου εἰς Ἑλευσῖνα· ἀπὸ ταύτης δὲ βαδιζόντων εἰς Ἑλευσῖνα τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ μέχρι τοῦ λόφου τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Αἰγάλεω. "Ἦτοι οὖν τὴν καλουμένην λείαν πέτραν ἢ τὸν Αἰγάλεων λέγει· Ὁ δὲ νοῦς· ἄρα ἐπὶ τὸν ἔσπερον χώρον τῆς λείας πέτρας προσπελάσουσι. Schol. CEd. Col. v. 1114. Οἰάτιδος ἐκ νομοῦ] Οἷα δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς· ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Οἶηθεν· ἐκ νομοῦ δὲ πάλιν, χωρίου Ἀττικοῦ οὕτω καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ νέμονται, ὡς νεμήσεως παρακειμένης. Schol. CEd. Col. v. 1116. By "the torrent at the smooth rock" Istrus seems to have meant the torrent in the pass of Dhafni, which runs into the *Eleusinian* bay. The Scholiast identifies "the smooth rock" with the part of Ægaleos on the left, in proceeding through the pass to Eleusis; and by "the mountain to the east" (N. E.) "of Ægaleos" he seems to have intended the same as the Pæcilum of Pausanias. We are not to suppose that Istrus referred to this passage in Sophocles. The Scholiast quotes him merely for the purpose of showing that "from the brazen way of Colonus to the torrent of the smooth rock," meant the same thing as "from the Cephissus to the mystic approach," or *Sacred Way*; or rather that the πέτρα νιφάδος of Sophocles was the same as the λεία πέτρα of Istrus. If we were to suppose Istrus to have alluded to the *third place*,

belonged to the demus of Corydallus, was not in the way to Thebes, and afforded no plain on its western side), it will follow that Œa must have been on the heights to the northward of the pass of Pœcilum. That part of the Thriasian plain, therefore, which lies at the foot of that mountain on the west, seems to be the third place intended by the poet, and Œa to have stood on the western face of that mountain, perhaps at Spiliá or at Stefáni, not far from the pass of Dhafni, on the mountain which in the time of Pausanias appears to have been called Pœcilum.

Eleusis.

Eleusis was advantageously situated on a height, at a small distance from the shore of an extensive bay, to which there is access only through narrow channels, at the two extremities of the island of Salamis: its position was important, as commanding the shortest and most level route by land from Athens to the Isthmus by the pass which leads at the foot of Mount Cerata along the shore to Megara; but it was subject to the inconveniences of a scarcity of potable water, and of the vicinity of some low and marshy ground, as well as of occasional encroachments from the river Cephissus, which, although for the greater part of the year quite dry, or finding its way to the sea in three or four slender rills, almost lost in a gravelly bed,

referred to by Sophocles, it would place Œa in the plain of Athens, where no situation could have been to the westward of any part of the ridges of Ægaleos. It is to be observed that Hesychius is opposed to the Scholiast's explanation of the words *Οἰάριδος νομῶν*, which Hesychius supposes to mean simply sheep-pastures, and he denies that the situation of Œa will suit such an interpretation (Hesych. in *Οἰάριδος*).

sometimes descends from the mountains with such impetuosity as to spread itself over a wide extent of the plain, damaging the lands and buildings.

In the plain about a mile to the north of Eleusis are remains of two ancient mounds; one of which was evidently constructed for the purpose of turning a part of the superfluous waters into the north-western corner of the bay near the foot of Mount Cerata, the other to protect the eastern side of the town from the torrent. Remains of similar ancient works are found in other parts of Greece; and it appears that they were used from a period of the highest antiquity<sup>1</sup>, in places where the land was valuable, to protect it from the damage accruing from torrents and inundations.

The embankments of the Plain of Eleusis are probably those which Hadrian is recorded to have raised in consequence of an inundation of the Eleusinian Cephissus, which occurred when that emperor was at Athens<sup>2</sup>; and they serve to illustrate the observation of Pausanias, that the Cephissus of Eleu-

<sup>1</sup> A work of this nature in the plain of Pheneus was supposed to have been formed by Hercules. Pausan. Arcad. 14, 3.

<sup>2</sup> . . . . χειμάσας εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μνηθεὶς τὰ Ἐλευσίνια, καὶ γεφυρώσας Ἐλευσίνα κατακλυσθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Κηφισσοῦ ποταμοῦ. Euseb. in Chron. p. 81. Gallicanus et Sitianus. His Consulibus juxta Eleusinem civitatem in Cephiso fluvio Hadrianus pontem constravit. Cassiodor. Chron. in Hadrian. It is evident that the operation here mentioned was chiefly the formation of a dyke to divert the waters from Eleusis, although a bridge over the river may also have formed part of it. Herodotus uses the word ἀπογεφυρώσας, in mentioning the works of Menes at Memphis, which he describes as dykes to keep the Nile in a particular course. Herodot. 2, 99.



sis was more impetuous than the river of the same name in the Athenian plain <sup>1</sup>.

One of the inconveniences under which Eleusis laboured, that of a scarcity of potable water, appears to have been remedied about the same time, and perhaps by the same emperor, who conferred so many benefits upon Greece. The ruins of an aqueduct upon arches are still seen stretching across the plain from the neighbourhood of Eleusis, in a north-eastern direction, towards the centre of the ridge which connects Parnes with Cithæron.

There are remains also of a reservoir belonging to this aqueduct, in the plain, at about a mile and a half from Eleusis. All these works indicate the importance of Eleusis under the Roman empire, when it was fashionable among the higher order of Romans to pass some time at Athens in the study of philosophy, and to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries. Hence Eleusis became at that time one of the most frequented places in Greece; and perhaps it was never so populous as under the emperors of the first two centuries of our æra<sup>2</sup>. During the two following centuries, its *mysteries* were the chief support of declining polytheism, and almost the only remaining bond of national union among the Greeks; but at length the destructive

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes alludes to inundations at Eleusis in his oration c. Callicl. p. 1279, Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Both Strabo (p. 395) and Pausanias (Attic. 38, 7), qualify Eleusis as a city. Strabo says, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑήμοις καταριθμεῖται ἡ πόλις. We find it still protected by the Roman government in the latter part of the fourth century (Zosim. 4, 2. Conf. Ammian. 30, 9. Sozomen. 6, 7. 21), soon after which it was overthrown by the Goths of Alaric.



visit of the Goths in the year 396, the extinction of paganism, and the ruin of maritime commerce, left Eleusis deprived of every source of prosperity, except those which are inseparable from its fertile plain, its noble bay, and its position on the road from Attica to the Isthmus.

Some evidence of the condition of Eleusis during the middle ages of the Byzantine empire is afforded by a great tower or castle on the southern side of the village, and by another tower of the same date standing upon Hellenic foundations on a part of the ancient citadel: but the ravages to which the place was exposed during the decline of the empire, from pirates and from the fleets of the maritime powers of the Mediterranean, were at length so fatal, that in 1676 Wheler and Spon found the site of Eleusis totally abandoned. In the middle of the last century it was again an inhabited place; at present forty cottages<sup>1</sup>, standing precisely on the foundations of the great public edifices, are occupied by the peasants who cultivate the corn-fields of Ceres, or who are employed in the export of the fir-timber and tar of the neighbouring mountains. The village still preserves the ancient name, no further altered than is customary in Romaic conversions. The name is in the fourth case 'Ελευσῖνα; the initial short vowel is omitted, and the *υσ* converted into *ψ* (Λεψῖνα); a practice not unknown to the ancients.

Eleusis was built at the eastern end of a low rocky hill, a mile in length, which lies parallel to the sea-

<sup>1</sup> These were reduced by the effects of the Greek insurrection to ten or twelve.

shore, and is separated to the west from the falls of Mount Cerata by a narrow branch of the plain.

The eastern extremity of the hill was levelled artificially for the reception of the Hierum of Ceres and the other sacred buildings. Above these are the traces of an Acropolis. A triangular space of about 500 yards each side, lying between the hill and the shore, was occupied by the town of Eleusis. On the eastern side, the town wall is traced along the summit of an artificial embankment, carried across the marshy ground from some heights near the Hierum, on one of which stands the modern castle already mentioned. This wall, according to a common practice in the military architecture of the Greeks, was prolonged into the sea so as to form a mole sheltering a harbour, which was entirely artificial, and was formed by this and two other longer moles which project about 100 yards into the sea. There are many remains of walls and buildings along the shore, as well as in other parts of the town and citadel; but they are mere foundations, the Hierum alone preserving any considerable remains.

The following is the very brief description of Eleusis which Pausanias has left us<sup>1</sup>. "The Eleusinii have a temple (*ναός*) of Triptolemus, another of Diana Propylæa, a third of Neptune the father, and a well called Callichorum, where the Eleusinian women first instituted a dance and song in honour of the goddess. They say that the plain called Rharium<sup>2</sup> was the first place in which corn was sown and pro-

<sup>1</sup> Attic. c. 38, 6.

<sup>2</sup> So named from Rharus, grandfather of Triptolemus.

duced a harvest, and hence barley from this plain is employed at Eleusis for making sacrificial cakes. There (*ἐνταῦθα*) the threshing-floor and altar of Triptolemus are shown. A dream has forbidden me to write of the things within the wall of the sacred edifice (*ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τοῦ ἱεροῦ*); to the uninitiated it is not permitted even to make inquiries concerning them."

The plain Rharium seems to have been in the immediate vicinity of Eleusis, but on which side it would be difficult to determine: in some part of it, as appears from the preceding words of Pausanias, were the threshing-floor and altar of Triptolemus. Near Eleusis also was the monument of the Athenian Tellus, who, after putting to flight the Eleusinii near Eleusis, was buried where he fell, and honoured with a public monument<sup>1</sup>.

The well Callichorum may have been that which is now seen not far from the foot of the northern side of the hill of Eleusis, within the bifurcation of two roads leading to Megara and to Eleutheræ, for near it are the foundations of a wall and portico.

To those who approached Eleusis from Athens, the sacred buildings standing on the eastern extremity of the height concealed the greater part of the town, and on a nearer approach presented a succession of magnificent objects, well calculated to heighten the solemn grandeur of the ceremonies, and

<sup>1</sup> Herod. 1. 30. Tellus was rich, had a fine family of sons and grandsons, died in the arms of victory, and had a monument erected to him at the public expense. For all these blessings, Solon cited Tellus, when Cræsus asked him whom he thought the happiest of men.

the awe and reverence of the Mystæ in their initiation. Even the want of symmetry in the position of the several buildings tended to the same effect, by rendering it difficult to catch a view of the inner buildings through the outer, or to comprehend their general plan, distribution, and extent; the consequence of which uncertainty would be, that imagination would exceed reality. In the plurality of enclosures, in the magnificence of the pylæ or gateways, in the absence of any general symmetry of plan, in the small auxiliary temples, we recognise a great resemblance between the sacred buildings of Eleusis and the Egyptian Hieræ of Thebes and Philæ. And this resemblance is the more remarkable, as the Demeter of Attica was the Isis of Egypt<sup>1</sup>. We cannot suppose, however, that the plan of all these buildings was even thought of, when the worship of Ceres was established at Eleusis. They were the progressive creation of successive ages, like those of the Acropolis of Athens, and hence of necessity asymmetric. The architecture of Greece having originated in national wants and means, totally different from those of Egypt, bears no essential resemblance to the Egyptian; and the Athenians appear to have received little or nothing from Egypt, except a part of the mythology of Neith and Isis.

The first object which strikes the traveller on approaching from Athens, is the remains of a very large pavement, terminating in some vast heaps of ruins, which the labours of the late mission of the Dilettanti have proved to have been a Propylæum of

<sup>1</sup> Herod. 2, 59, 156.



very nearly the same plan and dimensions as that of the Acropolis of Athens. Before it, near the middle of a paved platform, were found the remains of a small temple, forty feet long and twenty broad, raised upon five steps, and consisting of a simple cella, with two columns between antæ at either end. The situation of this temple on the platform of the Propylæum, seems to leave little doubt that it was the temple of Minerva Propylæa. The peribolus which abutted on the Propylæum formed the exterior inclosure of the Hierum. At a distance of fifty feet from the Propylæum was the north-eastern angle of the inner inclosure, which was in shape an irregular pentagon. Its entrance was at the angle just mentioned, where the rock was cut away both horizontally and vertically to receive another Propylæum, much smaller than the former, and which consisted of an opening thirty-two feet wide, between two parallel walls of fifty feet in length. Towards the inner extremity this opening was narrowed by transverse walls to a gateway of twelve feet in width, which was decorated with antæ, opposed to two Ionic columns. Between the inner front of this Propylæum and the site of the great temple lay, until the year 1801, the colossal bust of Pentelic marble, crowned with a basket, which is now deposited in the public library at Cambridge. It has been supposed to be a fragment of the statue of Ceres which was adored in the temple; but, to judge from the position in which it was found, and from the unfinished appearance of the surface in those few parts where any original surface remains, the statue seems rather to have been that of a Cistophorus,

serving for some architectural decoration, like the Caryatides of the Erechtheium, or the figures of the Persian stoa at Sparta, or the Titans of the temple of Jupiter at Agrigentum. Unfortunately we have no testimony to guide us to any thing like certainty on this question: such indeed has been the religious silence of ancient authors with regard to the mystic temple, that we remain ignorant both of the material and dimensions of the statue of Ceres, and even whether the worship of any such statue formed a part of the mysteries.

At Megalopolis there was a Hierum of the goddesses similar to that of Eleusis, which, besides the mystic adytum (σηκός), contained within the sacred peribolus temples of Jupiter, Venus, and Core (Proserpine), with several statues as well in those temples as in the open part of the Hierum; but of this mystic temple Pausanias says only that it was of large dimensions, and that the mysteries were celebrated in it <sup>1</sup>.

The north-western side of the pentagonal enclosure of the Hierum of Eleusis was formed by a perpendicular excavation in the rock of the Acropolis, which left a platform thirty-six feet wide between the perpendicular rock and the back of the temple.

The μυστικός σηκός or τελεστήριον, or temple itself, the largest ever erected by the Greeks in honour of the idols of their superstition, is described by Strabo as capable of containing as many persons as a theatre <sup>2</sup>. It was one of the edifices designed in the

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Arcad. 31, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Εἶτ' Ἐλευσίς πόλις, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐλευσινίας· καὶ ὁ μυστικός σηκός, ὃν κατεσκεύασεν Ἰκτινος, ὄχλον θεάτρου

administration of Pericles by the architect of the Parthenon<sup>1</sup>, but was probably executed in part only before the Peloponnesian war, as three successive artists were employed in building it<sup>2</sup>, and its portico was not constructed until the time of Demetrius Phalereus, when Philo was the fourth or fifth architect of this temple. When complete, it ranked as one of the four finest examples of Greek architecture in marble<sup>3</sup>. It faced the south-east, and consisted (if the mission is correct in its conclusion) of a cella 166 feet square within. Unfortunately the centre of the modern village occupies the exact site of this building, and some of the cottages are built upon a slope formed by its ruins, in consequence of which the mission could not succeed in obtaining all the details, which a more complete excavation of the ruins would probably give. Comparing, however, the fragments which they found with the description of Plutarch, they thought themselves warranted in concluding that the roof of the cella was covered with tiles of marble like the temples of Athens; that it was supported by twenty-eight Doric columns, of a diameter

δέξασθαι δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα ἐποίησε τὸν ἐν Ἀκροπόλει τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, Περικλέους ἐπιστατοῦντος τῶν ἔργων. Strabo, p. 395.

<sup>1</sup> τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τελεστήριον ἤρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἰθάφους κίονας ἔθηκεν οὗτος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέζευξεν· ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπέτιος τὸ διάζωμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κίονας ἐπέστησι, τὸ δὲ ὀπαῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκαρύφωσε. Plutarch. Pericl. 13. To reconcile these facts with the words of Strabo ὃν κατεσκεύασεν Ἰκτινος, we must suppose that it was designed only by Ictinus.

<sup>2</sup> Vitruv. in præf. l. 7.



(measured under the capital) of three feet two inches; that the columns were disposed in two double rows across the cella, one near the front, the other near the back; and that they were surmounted by ranges of smaller columns, as in the Parthenon, and as we still see exemplified in one of the existing temples at Pæstum. The cella was fronted with a magnificent portico of twelve Doric columns, measuring six feet and a half at the lower diameter of the shaft, but fluted only in a narrow ring at the top and bottom. The platform at the back of the temple was twenty feet above the level of the pavement of the portico. An ascent of steps led up to this platform on the outside of the north-western angle of the temple, not far from where another flight of steps ascended from the platform to a portal adorned with two columns, which perhaps formed a small propylæum communicating from the Hierum to the Acropolis.

The mission was not able to discover any remains which they could ascribe to the temple of Triptolemus, or to that of Neptune. These buildings stood probably between the outer and inner enclosure of the Hierum, for the latter appears to have been that wall of the sanctuary (τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ Ἱεροῦ) which Pausanias mentions, and into which none but the initiated or the mystæ were allowed to enter.

Amphiale  
and Phar-  
macussæ.

The peninsula of Skarmangá on the eastern shore of the bay of Eleusis has already been noticed: adjacent to it, are two islands now called the Kyrádhēs (αἱ Κυράδεις) or Megáli and Mikrí Kyrá. These seem to answer to the promontory Amphiale



and the two *Pharmacussæ* of Strabo, the larger of which islands contained the tomb of Circe<sup>1</sup>. It is to be observed, however, that the only quarry on this coast is not near Skarmangá, but nearly opposite to the centre of the bay of Salamis, and that the channel, instead of being about two stades in breadth, is in no part less than a mile: at the πορθμός, the same doubtless as the modern ferry, it is still wider. The geographer has likewise omitted to notice an island near the coast of *Salamis*, which is larger than either of the Kyrádhes, and is now called Aghyrá ('Αγυρά), as well as another in the Bay of Ambelákia, named Arpathóni ('Αρπαθώνη). These perhaps are ancient names.

Among the pine-trees which cover the peninsula of Skarmangá rises a large artificial tumulus, and to the south of the Cape, in a small level, are the foundations of several extensive Hellenic buildings. If these mark the site of a demus, it was possibly Otryne; for this was a maritime demus<sup>2</sup> and of some importance, as appears from Demosthenes, in his ora-

<sup>1</sup> Εἶτα τὸ Θριάσιον πεδῖον, καὶ ὁμώνυμος αἰγιαλὸς καὶ δῆμος· εἴθ' ἡ ἄκρα ἡ Ἀμφιάλη, καὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον λατόμιον καὶ ὁ εἰς Σαλαμίνα πορθμός, ὅσον διστάδιος, ὃν διαχοῦν ἐπειράτο Ξέρξης, ἐφθη δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία γενομένη, καὶ ἡ φυγὴ τῶν Περσῶν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ αἱ Φαρμακοῦσαι δύο νησίαι, ὧν ἐν τῇ μείζονι Κίρκης τάφος δείκνυται. Strabo, p. 395. V. et Stephan. in Φαρμακοῦσσα.

<sup>2</sup> Antiphanes (ap. Athen. 7, 17. p. 309 E.) represents a vendor of the fishes named κωβιοὶ as contrasting the Phaleric with those of Otryne, the former having been the most esteemed of any:

προστίθημι, φησί, σοι  
Τὸν δῆμον αὐτῶν· εἰσὶ γὰρ Φαληρικοί·  
Ἄλλοι δ' ἐπώλουν, ὥς ἔοικ', Ὀτρυνικούς.

tion against Leochares, the subject which gives some reason likewise to suspect that Otryne was not far from Eleusis. That it was on the south-western shore of Attica, is rendered probable by the words of Antiphanes just cited, and it seems not to have been in Paralia<sup>1</sup>.

Among the many beautiful bays which adorn the winding shores of Greece, there is none more remarkable than that of *Eleusis*. Formed on the eastern, northern, and western sides by a noble sweep of the Attic coast, it is closed on the south by the northern shore of the island of *Salamis*, which, being separated only from the main land at either end by a narrow tortuous channel, has the appearance of being a continuation of the mountains of Attica which surround the other sides of the amphitheatre; and thus the Bay in every direction resembles a beautiful lake. For modern purposes, however, the bay of Salamis is more useful as a harbour.

Salamis.

Salamis was anciently called Cychreia and Sciras; the former name derived from a native, one of the reputed sons of Neptune, the latter from a prophet, who coming from Dodona to Athens, in the reign of Erechtheus the second, was slain, together with that monarch, in fighting against Eumolpus and the Thracians who were in possession of Eleusis<sup>2</sup>. The island was, however, known by the name of Salamis at a

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 53 seq.

<sup>2</sup> . . . ἀκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας. Æschyl. Pers. v. 568. Strabo, p. 393. Pausan. Attic. 1, 4. 36, 1. 3. Philochor. ap. Plutarch. Thes. 17. There was a hill in Salamis called ὁ Κύχρειος πάγος. Sophocl. ap. Stephan. in Κύχρειος.

very early period; for Homer indicates no other: according to Pausanias, who follows probably the Athenian tradition, Salamis was the name of the mother of Asopus. At the time of the Trojan war, the island had recently become the possession of one of the *Æacidæ*, or sons of *Æacus*, who colonized it from *Ægina*. Although not undeserving of the character bestowed upon it by its native poet<sup>1</sup>, (for the more fertile districts of Salamis are well suited to the olive, and its honey is abundant and excellent), such is the general scantiness of its productive soil, that nothing but a share in the commerce which made *Ægina* one of the richest of the republics of Greece, could have given Salamis the means of contributing twelve ships to the Grecian expedition against Troy<sup>2</sup>.

That Salamis preserved its independence for some time after the Trojan war, was perhaps an effect in a great degree of the balance of power which existed at that period between Athens, Megara, and *Ægina*; but it fell into its more natural condition of a dependency upon Attica, as soon as the Athenian constitution and power began to be well established under Solon and Peisistratus. A contest for the

<sup>1</sup> Μελισσοτρόφου Σαλαμῖνος  
 Ὡ βασιλεῦ Τελαμῶν, νάσου  
 Περικύμονος οἰκήσας ἔδραν,  
 ἥ τᾱς ἐπικεκλιμένας  
 Ὀχθοῖς ἱεροῖσιν ἐλαίας  
 Πρῶτον ἔδειξε κλάδον, γλανκᾱς Ἀθάνας  
 Οὐράνιον στέφανον,  
 Διπαράῃσι κόσμον Ἀθήναις, Euripid. Troad. v. 794.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. Il. B. 557.

island, between the Athenians and Megarenses, is said to have been supported about this time by such arguments, as have little influence, unless when urged by the stronger party. The Athenians asserted that the island had been ceded to them by Philæus, son of Eurysaces son of Ajax, when he became an Athenian citizen<sup>1</sup>; and they quoted a verse of Homer, which proved that the Salaminii were under the command of the Athenians at the siege of Troy, although the fact is contradicted by other passages in Homer, and the verse itself is strongly suspected to have been an interpolation of Solon and Peisistratus themselves<sup>2</sup>. From this time, Salamis was an Attic demus, and so continued until the year 317 B. C., five years after the occupation of Munychia by the Macedonians, when soon after having successfully stood a siege by Cassander, the Salaminii were induced at length to receive his garrison<sup>3</sup>. For this defection they were expelled from the island, and their lands were given to Athenian cleruchi, when the Athenians, after an interval of more than ninety years, regained possession of Salamis by purchase from the Macedonians, together with Munychia and Sunium<sup>4</sup>. From that time Salamis probably continued to be a πόλις dependent upon Athens, like Eleutheræ, Oropus, and Ægina<sup>5</sup>. In the time of the Antonines, there remained a ruined agora, containing a temple of Ajax with a statue

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Attic. 35. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, p. 393, 394.

<sup>3</sup> Diodor. 18, 69. Polyæn. 4, 11. § 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Topography of Athens, p. 407.

<sup>5</sup> By the grammarians, Salamis is generally styled a πόλις: by none of them a δῆμος.



of the hero in ebony; on one side of the city a temple of Diana, and on the other the trophy erected in honour of the victory gained over the Persians. There was likewise a temple of Cychreus, who was said to have appeared among the ships during the battle of Salamis in the form of a serpent: and near the port a stone was pointed out to strangers, upon which Telamon seated himself when his sons departed for Aulis on the expedition to Troy<sup>1</sup>.

According to Strabo, the city of Salamis of his time was in a gulf near a peninsula, over against the coast of Attica, the ancient city of Telamon and Ajax having stood on the side of the island towards Ægina and the south; perhaps in that part of the coast which faces the south-west, where are some remains of Hellenic walls near a small port, and where the only rivulet in the island, may answer to his Bocarus, or Bocalias<sup>2</sup>. This position may have been

<sup>1</sup> "Ἔστι δὲ ἀγορᾶς τε ἔτι ἱερεΐα, καὶ ναὸς Αἴαντος· ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐξ ἰβένου ξύλου· διαμένονσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε τῷ Αἴαντι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις τιμαὶ, αὐτῷ τε καὶ Εὐρυσάκει· καὶ γὰρ Εὐρυσάκους βωμός ἐστιν ἐν Ἀθήναις. Δείκνυται δὲ λίθος ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον καθήμενον Τελαμῶνα ὄρᾳ λέγουσιν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἀποπλεόντων οἱ τῶν παίδων ἐς Αὐλίδᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων στόλον. Pausan. Attic. 35, 2. Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ . . . . τοῦτο μὲν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν, τοῦτο δὲ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι. Καὶ Κυχρέως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους, δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι· τοῦτον ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἀθηναίοις Κυχρέα εἶναι τὸν ἥρωα. Pausan. Attic. 36, 1. Pausanias has not noticed the statue of Solon, represented with his hand in his mantle, which was erected in the agora of Salamis more than two centuries after his death. Demosth. de Falsâ Leg. p. 420. Æschin. in Timarch. p. 52, Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Εἶτα Σαλαμὶς ἰβδόμηκοντά που σταδίων οὖσα τὸ μῆκος, οἱ δ'

chosen by the Æginetan colony as more secure from the Athenians, and the most convenient place in the island for communicating with Ægina. When Salamis had become a demus of Attica, a situation was naturally preferred opposite to the Attic coast, possessing a good harbour, and where the πορθμός<sup>1</sup> or ferry was narrow and well sheltered, at the same time that the great Salaminian bay, looking towards Corinth and the west, was close at hand. At the head of this bay stands the village Kulúri<sup>2</sup>, from which the island takes its modern name, and which, together with the subordinate villages called Mulki (farm) and Ambelákia (vineyards), and the Convent of Fanaroméni, contains all the present population of the island. The peninsula alluded to by Strabo is the narrow rocky point which shelters the bay of Ambe-

ὀγδοήκοντά φασιν· ἔχει δ' ὁμώνυμον πόλιν, τὴν μὲν ἀρχαίαν ἔρημον πρὸς Αἴγιναν τετραμμένην, καὶ πρὸς Νότον, καθάπερ καὶ Δῖσχυλος εἴρηκεν,

Αἴγινα δ' αὕτη πρὸς Νότου κείται πνοάς·

τὴν δὲ νῦν ἐν κόλπῳ κειμένην ἐπὶ χερρόνησοιδοῦς τόπου συνάπτοντος πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν. Ἐκαλεῖτο δ' ἐτέροις ὀνόμασι τὸ παλαιόν· καὶ γὰρ Σκιρὰς καὶ Κυχρεΐα ἀπὸ τινων ἡρώων. . . . Ὠνομάσθη δὲ καὶ Πιτυοῦσσα ἀπὸ τοῦ φυτοῦ. Strabo, p. 393. Βώκαρος δ' ἐστὶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ποταμός, ὁ νῦν Βωκαλίας καλούμενος. Strabo, p. 394. Lycophron alludes to the river Bocarus, as well as to the rocks of Mount Cychreus. Κυχρῆος ἀντρων Βωκάρου τε ναμάτων. Lycoph. v. 451. In the text of Strabo (p. 424) mention is made of a river Cephissus in Salamis; but as it occurs in an enumeration of various rivers of that name, and immediately follows the Athenian Cephissus, without any mention occurring of the Eleusinian Cephissus, we ought perhaps to read ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι instead of ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

<sup>1</sup> Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 545, Reiske. Strabo, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Κουλούρι, from the Hellenic κολλύρα, is said to be derived from the resemblance of the bay to the Athenian cakes of that name.

lákia on the east, and is now called the Cape of St. Barbara (Ἁγία Βαρβάρα)<sup>1</sup>. It forms, together with the western cape of Port *Phoron*, the eastern entrance of the strait. And it is doubtless the Sileniæ of Æschylus, which, according to Timoxenus, was afterwards called *Tropæa*<sup>2</sup>, because the trophy erected to the immortal memory of the Salaminian victory<sup>3</sup> was there erected. We may infer perhaps from Pausanias that the temple of Cychreus was not far from this promontory: the temple of Diana he shows to have been near the opposite side of the bay of Ambelákia.

The walls of the city of Salamis may still be traced on a part of Cape *Tropæa*, and in several parts of the plain which borders the bay of Ambelákia: and here, as well as in the walls and churches both of Ambelákia and Kulúri, are seen many fragments of ancient workmanship.

Herodotus, in his relation of the battle of Salamis, *Sciradium.* states, that he had been informed by the Athenians that Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, fled at the first onset, followed by all the Corinthian galleys; and that, when in retreating they arrived at the tem-

<sup>1</sup> Chandler supposed the name to be Barbaro, and to have reference to the Persian war, but it was certainly derived from a church (perhaps on the site of the trophy) dedicated to the female martyr Barbara.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρτεμβάρης δὲ μυρίας ἵππων βραβεὺς  
Στυφλοὺς παρ' ἁκτὰς θείνεται Σιληνίων.

Æschyl. Pers. v. 300.

Schol. . . . Σιληνίαι αἰγιαλός ἐστι τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς λεγομένης Τροπαίας ἄκρας, ὡς Τιμόξενος ἐν τῷ περὶ λίμνων φησί. V. et Hesych. in Σιληνίαι.

<sup>3</sup> Ante Salaminem ipsam Neptunus obruet quam Salaminii tropæi memoriam. Cicer. Tusc. Quæst. 1, 46.

ple of Minerva Sciras on the coast of Salamis, they were met by a boat, the persons on board of which reproached Adeimantus with his flight at the moment when the Greeks were victorious: that the Corinthians returned upon hearing this intelligence, which the Athenians supposed to be supernatural, but that they did not arrive at the scene of action until the battle was over<sup>1</sup>. Hence it is evident that the temple was to the westward of the city and strait of Salamis: according to Plutarch, in alluding to the same story, it was at an extremity of the island (*περὶ τὰ λήγοντα τῆς Σαλαμινίας*)<sup>2</sup>. From Plutarch we also learn that at the promontory Sciradium there was a temple of Mars, erected by Solon in memory of his having there defeated the Megarenses, and where a periodical solemnity represented some of the circumstances of the action<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 94.

<sup>2</sup> As the Athenians disliked Adeimantus, who during the operations by sea had been constantly opposed to their interests and wishes, and as the two nations were particularly hostile at the time when the history of Herodotus was written, the fact is very doubtful, and the more so as it was contradicted by the rest of Greece, as well as by the following epigram in honour of the Corinthians who fell in the battle, which the Athenians of subsequent ages allowed to remain at Salamis.

ὦ ξένε, εὐνδρόν ποτ' ἐναίομεν ἄστυ Κορίνθου,  
 Νῦν δὲ ἀνάματος νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς,  
 Ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες,  
 Καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ῥνόμεθα.

Ap. Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot.

The dryness of Salamis, and the copious sources of Corinth, which are here contrasted, are peculiarities which must have been observed by every traveller.

<sup>3</sup> Solon, 9.



As the Corinthians could not have retreated through the eastern opening of the Strait of Salamis, which was the centre of the scene of action, and as they would under any circumstances have preferred the more direct as well as more sheltered route to Corinth, through the Megaric strait, one can hardly doubt that Sciradium was the north-western promontory of Salamis, upon which now stands, on a narrow plain by the shore, the monastery of the "Virgin brought to light" (ἡ Παναγία φαναρωμένη); so called because a buried picture of the Virgin was here said to have been discovered in the earth, in consequence of a miraculous voice which issued from the place. The monastery stands on the site of a Hellenic building, of which many large squared blocks are still to be seen, together with some fragments of Doric columns, and it seems therefore to be one of the numerous examples still extant in Greece of Pagan temples converted into churches, and which still retain portions or fragments of the original buildings.

On the summit of the hill which rises to the southward of the small level of Fanaroméni are the remains of a Hellenic fortress, constructed of a rude species of masonry. It bore probably the same name as the promontory. There are other similar remains on a height above the northern entrance of the Salaminian strait.

From a comparison of Strabo and other authors, Budorum. with the description which Thucydides has given of an enterprise of the Peloponnesians against the Peiræus at the end of the naval campaign in the Corinthian gulf, in the third year of the Peloponnesian war, we learn that Budorus was the name of

the peninsular mountain which is included between the Megaric strait and the Bay of Kolúri, and that here likewise was a fortress named Budorum<sup>1</sup>. The western projection of this height forms one side of the western entrance of the Megaric strait of Salamis, and is only three miles distant from Nisæa, the port of Megara. In the Peloponnesian war the Athenians had a fortified post on the promontory, and three ships were stationed there to blockade the port of Megara. Thucydides describes it as the promontory opposite to Megara<sup>2</sup>. In the third year of the war, before the separation of the Peloponnesian fleet for the winter, it was resolved by the commanders, at the suggestion of the Megarenses, to make an attempt upon the Peiræus, which, in consequence of the superiority of the Athenians at sea, was neither guarded nor closed with chains<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. 2, 93, 94. Strabo, p. 446. Βούδωρον ἀκρωτήριον, Stephan. in v. φρούριον Βούδαρον, Ephorus ibid. Βουδόριον, Diodor. 12, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ πρὸς Μέγαρον ὄρων· καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν, καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ, τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι, μηδ' ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν. Thucyd. 2, 93.

Plutarch, relating the manner in which Solon expelled the Megarenses from Salamis, and obtained possession of the island, states that he moved from Athens with 500 Athenians, and a galley of thirty pair of oars, and anchored at a promontory of Salamis opposite to Eubœa (ὑφορμίσασθαι τῇ Σαλαμῖνι κατὰ χηλὴν τινα πρὸς τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἀποβλέπουσαν. Solon. 9). From hence he marched to meet the Megarenses at the promontory Sciradium; after having sent some chosen Athenians to seize the city, while he should be engaged with the enemy. Εὐβοίαν is evidently erroneous; perhaps we ought to read Νίσαιαν, the place where Solon anchored having been no other than Budorum.

<sup>3</sup> Ἦν δὲ ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἄκλειστος. Thucyd. ibid.

Each seaman was ordered to take his oar, his cushion, and his thong<sup>1</sup>, and to proceed on foot from Corinth to Nisæa. Having arrived there in the night, they launched forty ships. They did not, however, proceed to the Peiræus, according to their first intention, because "the danger appeared too great; and the wind is said to have been contrary:" instead of this they sailed to the promontory of Budorus, attacked the fortress, towed away the Athenian triremes empty, and proceeded to overrun the greater part of the island, collecting prisoners and plunder. "When the fire-signals indicating the arrival of an enemy were seen at Athens, an alarm was raised, not inferior to any, which occurred throughout the war: in the city it was thought that the enemy had already entered Peiræus; in Peiræus, that the town of Salamis was taken, and that the enemy was on the point of entering the harbour of Peiræus, which in fact there was nothing to prevent, if he had been sufficiently active, and the wind had not been contrary. The Athenians marched out of the city at day-break with all their forces, proceeded to Peiræus, launched their ships, and, embarking in great numbers, sailed to Salamis, while a body of infantry remained for the defence of Peiræus. The Peloponnesians, as soon as they knew of the enemy's approach, hastily collected their prisoners and booty, and sailed with the three triremes captured at Budorum<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Τὴν κώπην, καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον, καὶ τὸν τροπωτήρα. The ὑπερέσιον, also called ποτίκρανον, was a cushion or skin laid upon the σίλμα or bench, for the rower to sit upon. J. Poll. 1, 89. 10, 40. Hesych. in v. Schol. Thucyd. l. l. See Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> τὰς τρεῖς ναῦς ἐκ τοῦ Βουδόρου τοῦ φρουρίου.

to Nisæa; for they were afraid of the state of their own vessels, which, not having been launched for a long time, were unable to bear the sea. Having arrived at Megara, they returned by land to Corinth. The Athenians, on their part, when they found that the enemy had retired from Salamis returned home, and in consequence of this event took care that the Peiræus should be guarded and fortified, as well by the closure of the ports as by other modes of defence <sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Thucyd. 2, 94.



## SECTION VI.

### CATALOGUE OF THE DEMI.

DIODORUS the Periegetes, Nicandrus of Thyateira, and Dionysius son of Tryphon, seem to have been the authors from whom Harpocration, Stephanus, and the other grammarians, chiefly derived their information on the Attic demi. In some instances these writers may be corrected from the better authority of the monuments, both in the orthography of the demi, and as to the tribes to which they belonged; but in general they are most remarkably confirmed by Attic inscriptions.

Among the moderns, Sigonius, in his treatise "*De Republica Atheniensium*," was the first to give a list of the demi; but he was not able to trace the names of more than 132<sup>1</sup>. In the year 1615 Meursius published his work "*De Populis Atticæ*;" which, as it contains, according to the author's usual and most laudable method, a copious collection of detailed citations from the ancient authorities, is very useful in the investigation of this subject<sup>2</sup>. But Meursius, in his anxiety to complete the number of the demi

<sup>1</sup> V. Gronov. *Thes. Antiq. Græc.* IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

to 174, included several names belonging only to capes, islets, or mountains, and which had never ranked among the demi. Spon, after returning from Greece in 1656 with a large collection of inscriptions, struck out thirteen objectionable names from the list of Meursius, and inserted others to make up the number<sup>1</sup>, but without having made, upon the whole, a more correct catalogue.

In 1745 Corsini, having applied a severer criticism to the subject, and being more desirous of obtaining true names than of completing the number, inserted in the first volume of his "*Fasti Attici*" a catalogue of 166 demi.

Since that time Attica has been much more frequented by travellers and scholars than it was before; numerous inscriptions have been copied, many inscribed marbles have been placed in public and private collections of antiquities; and the time therefore seems to have arrived when a more correct list than any of those just mentioned may be attempted, and which, though it cannot yet be considered as complete, may at least be useful in facilitating the researches of future travellers.

The following alphabetical catalogue contains in the first column the names of the Demi in their ethnic form, as engraved on the monuments and written according to the Attic orthography of the fourth century B.C.<sup>2</sup> More than one hundred and

<sup>1</sup> Spon, *Voyage*, &c. II. p. 371 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Although the archonship of Eucleides (B. C. 403-2) was the official period of the introduction of the four Ionic letters, the two long vowels, particularly Η, had been for several years

thirty of these gentiles have been found in Attic inscriptions, and the number will probably be augmented. The remainder are from Greek authors of every age. In the second column are the tribes to which the Demi belonged, resting likewise for the most part on the evidence of inscriptions; where these fail, the ancient writers are followed. The third column names the authorities of both kinds; where these are numerous, some of the less important have been omitted, but enough will remain to show the relative importance of the Demi, for which this column is chiefly intended.

Inscriptions are referred to according to the numbers in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* of Boeckh, unless when they have not yet found a place in that collection.

In some few instances we are in possession of the name of the town or chief place of the demus, but are still ignorant of the exact form of the gentile adjective or demus itself. Thus we have ΚΥΚΑΛΑ, ΛΕΚΚΟΝ, ΛΕΥΚΟΠΥΡΑ, as the chief places of demi of which no author or monument has given the ethnic termination. But examples of the reverse are out of all proportion more numerous, arising naturally from

in common use. See *Topography of Athens*, p. 434. In a document of the year 408 B.C., we find 'Επ' Εὐκτῆμονος ἄρχοντος and Κηφισιῆς, Περγασῆς Atticè for Κηφισιῆς, Περγασιῆς, together with Πρυτάνες for Πρυτάνεις, and Θωκλείδης for Θωκλείδης, according to the more ancient orthography. (Ἐφημ. Ἀρχαιολ. No. 80.) Such a trifling variation as the single or double K, Λ, Π, Σ, or as that arising from the undistinguishing use in later ages of I and EI, has not in general been adverted to in the catalogue.

the demi having been corporations, which it was customary to designate by the gentile plural, while every individual citizen of the demus was distinguished by the same word in the singular. Some of the Attic refinements in lapidary inscriptions may not be easily explained, on account of our imperfect knowledge of their customs; but we may remark, that when the name of the chief place of a demus was an oxytone ending in H, the demotic was generally designated by means of the adverbial termination ΘΕΝ, as ΚΕΦΑΛΗ, ΚΕΦΑΛΗΘΕΝ: in some other classes of nouns the second case, preceded by ΕΚ, or ΕΞ, was employed, as ΕΚ ΚΟΙΛΗΣ, ΕΞ ΟΙΟΥ, though in neither class to the general exclusion of ethnics plural.

In epitaphs of daughters of citizens we find the demotic sometimes applied to the father's name, and sometimes (perhaps after the father's death) to the daughter's; in the former case ΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ was generally, though not always, added. When the demotic was attached to the daughter's name, the second case of the gentile plural, preceded by ΕΚ or ΕΞ, was employed, as ΙΣΙΔΩΡΑ ΠΡΑΞΙΤΕΛΟΥΣ ΕΚ ΦΥΛΑΣΙΩΝ, and not ΙΣΙΔΩΡΑ ΦΥΛΑΣΙΑ, which was the form reserved for foreign women, as ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΔΕΣΑΙΑ. The Ceramenses seem to have been the only demus who employed the form ΕΚ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΝ for men as well as women, in order probably to avoid the ambiguity of ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, a potter. When the female citizen had been the wife of a citizen, ΓΥΝΗ was added to his name and demus, sometimes accompanied by his father's name. The following exemplifies an instance of a citizen mar-



ried to a citizen's daughter, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΗ ΠΑΤΡΩΝΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΘΟΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΣΟΥΝΙΕΩΣ ΓΥΝΗ. And the following, that of a foreign woman married to an Attic citizen, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΜΙΑΗΣΙΑ ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΕΥΚΟΝΟΕΩΣ ΓΥΝΗ. Alliances of Attic citizens with foreign women appear to have been very common, and those of the daughters of Attic citizens with foreigners to have been extremely rare.

When the two new tribes Antigonis and Deme-trias were established, it was necessary to remove into them many of the demi of the ten tribes, no new demi having been formed until the two new tribes assumed the names Ptolemais and Attalis, when no more than two demi were added, the ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΙΣ, named from the mother of Attalus, and the ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΙΔΑΙ, in honour of the wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus. When the thirteenth tribe, or Hadrianis, was formed, a new arrangement was again required. The monuments of those ages, therefore, are still less to be relied on in proof of the vicinity of demi, from the circumstance of their being arranged under the same tribe, than similar authorities of the time of the ten tribes.

A grammarian remarks that the demi were named from their local peculiarities, or from the employment of the natives, or from the names of the men or women who inhabited (or founded) them<sup>1</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> οἱ γὰρ δῆμοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτοῖς ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φυτῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς χειροτεχνῶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκησάντων (οἰκισάντων?) ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν. Etym. M. in Ἑλεῖς.

Ἀχειρδούσιοι, Βατῆ, Βησαιεῖς, Μυρρῖνούσιοι, Οἶον, Οἰνόη, Μαραθῶνιοι, may be mentioned as examples of the first of these three classes: the Ἀμαξαντεῖς, Κεραμεῖς, Λακιεῖς, Πιθεῖς, Φρεάρριοι, of the second, which was much the least numerous of the three: and of the third class the Ἀναφλύστιοι, Δαιδαλίδαι, Ἐκαλείοι, Οἰῆθεν, Φιλαίδαι. Many demi of the first and second classes pretended to a heroic origin, instead of acknowledging the true etymology of their demotic names.

## CATALOGUE OF THE DEMI.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΑΓΓΕΛΕΙΣ <sup>1</sup> , ΑΓΓΕΛΗΘΕΝ	Pandionis	Böeckh, 190, 193, &c. <sup>2</sup> 'E. 'A. 24. Stephan. Hesych. Bek. p. 335 <sup>3</sup> .
ΑΓΚΥΛΕΕΙΣ, ΑΓΚΥΛΕΙΣ, ΑΓΚΥΛΗΘΕΝ	Ægeis. Antiochis?	Bö. 115, 183, 549. Demosth. Æschin. Plutarch. Bek. p. 338.
* ΑΓΝΟΥΣΙΟΙ . . . ( <i>nomen</i> Ἀγροῦς)	Acamantis, Demetrias, Attalis	Bö. 138, 147, &c. Dem. Æschin. Plut. Harpocrat. Steph. Hes.
* ΑΓΡΥΛΗΘΕΝ <sup>4</sup> , ΑΓΡΥΛΕΙΣ ΚΑΘΥΠΕΡΘΕΝ	Erechtheis	Bö. 160, 293. 'E. 'A. 9, 22, 80 <sup>5</sup> . Zonaras. Harp. Steph. Hes. Bek. p. 332. Harp. in Ἀρδηττος.
* ΑΓΡΥΛΗΘΕΝ, ΑΓΡΥΛΕΙΣ ΥΠΕΝΕΡΘΕΝ	Erechtheis	
* ΑΖΗΝΙΕΙΣ . . . (Ἀζηνία)	Hippothoontis, Antiochis	Bö. 172, 182, &c. Dem. Æschin. Strab. Harp. Hes. Steph. Bek. p. 348.
* ΑΘΜΟΝΕΙΣ . . . (Ἀθμονον, Ἀθμονία)	Cecropis, Attalis	Bö. 150, 194, &c. 'E. 'A. 23. Aristoph. et Schol. Dem. Isæus, Dinarch. Pausan. Zonar. Harp. Steph. Suid. Bek. p. 349.

<sup>1</sup> The asterisks indicate places, of which the situations are known, or at least concerning the position of which we have some information.

<sup>2</sup> This and similar references are to the numbers in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* of Boeckh.

<sup>3</sup> This and similar references are to the pages of the first volume of the *Anecdota Græca* of Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> Hesychius names an Ἀγριαυλή, as well as an Ἀγρυλή: Suidas an Ἀγροιλή, and Harpocration also in some of the MSS.: in others it is Ἀγρυλή. In Plutarch Themistocles is described as Ἀγραινληθεν. But Stephanus shows that Ἀγραινλη was the same place as Ἀγρυλή, and so also undoubtedly were both Ἀγριαυλή and Ἀγροιλή. The inscription 'E. 'A. 80. cited above proves that there were two demi Agryle of the same tribe, like the two Pæaniæ and the two Pergasæ.

<sup>5</sup> This and similar references are to the Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική. Athens, quarto, 1837.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΑΙΓΙΑΙΕΙΣ . . . (Αἰγιλία, Αἰγίλος)	Antiochis .	Bö. 140, 147, &c. Dem. Strab. Harp. Suid. Steph. Sch. Theocrit.
* ΑΙΘΑΛΙΔΑΙ . . .	Leontis, An- tigonis, (or Demetrias)	Bö. 115, 150, &c. 'E. 'A. 1. Isæ. Zonar. Harp. Suid. Hes. Steph. Bek. p. 355.
* ΑΙΞΩΝΕΙΣ . . . (Αἰξωνία)	Cecropis .	Bö. 93, 111, &c. 'E. 'A. 42. Aristoph. et Sch. Nausicra- tes et Cratinus ap. Athen. Plat. Dem. Strab. Ælian. Zon. Harp. Steph. Suid. Bek. p. 358.
* ΑΛΑΙΕΙΣ . . . (Ἀλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες)	Ægeis . .	Bö. 115, 183 <sup>1</sup> . Callimach. Strab. Steph.
* ΑΛΑΙΕΙΣ . . . (Ἀλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες)	Cecropis . +	Bö. 172, 185. Dem. Æschin. in ep. Strab. Steph.
* ΑΛΙΜΟΥΣΙΟΙ . . . (Ἀλιμοῦς)	Leontis . .	Bö. 139, 140, &c. Aristoph. et Sch. Dem. Marcellinus in v. Thucyd. Strab. Paus. Steph. Etymologicum Magnum. Harp. Suid. Bek. p. 376.
* ΑΛΩΠΕΚΕΙΣ, ΑΛΩ- ΠΕΚΗΘΕΝ	Antiochis .	Bö. 172, 281, &c. 'E. 'A. 9, 124. Inscr. M. B. 285 <sup>2</sup> . He- rodot. Dem. Æschin. Lys. Plat. Plut. Diogen. Laërt. Harp. Steph. Hes. Suid. Bek. p. 381.
ΑΜΑΞΑΝΤΕΙΣ, ΑΜΑΞΑΝΤΕΙΕΙΣ (Ἀμαξάντεια)	Hippochoontis	Bö. 150, 581, &c. Harp. Steph. Hes. Bek. p. 348.
* ΑΜΦΙΤΡΟΠΗΘΕΝ .	Antiochis .	Bö. 161, 471. Æschin. Lys. Plut. Steph. Hes.
* ΑΝΑΓΥΡΑΣΙΟΙ . . . (Ἀναγυροῦς)	Erechtheis .	Bö. 111, 190, &c. Herodot. Aristoph. et Sch. Plato Com. et Archip. ap. Athen. Dem. Æschin. Strab. Paus. Harp. Steph. Æantis, Sch. Plat.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλαιεῖς occurs in many other inscriptions, but to which of the two Ἀλαὶ it refers is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Inscription, No. 285 of the British Museum.



DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
ΑΝΑΚΑΙΕΙΣ . . . ( <i>Ἀνάκαια</i> )	Hippothoontis	Bö. 586. Diogen. Harp. Steph. Suid. Bek. p. 348.
* ΑΝΑΦΛΥΣΤΙΟΙ . . . ( <i>Ἀναφλυστος</i> )	Antiochis	Bö. 137, 150, &c. Herodot. Aristoph. et Sch. Xen. Dem. Æschin. Scylax, Strab. Paus. Steph. Harp. Suid.
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΙΣ . . .	Attalis	Bö. 275. Steph. Hes.
* ΑΡΑΦΗΝΙΟΙ . . . ( <i>Ἀραφήν</i> )	Ægeis	Bö. 115, 150, &c. 'E. 'A. 98, 119. Dem. Isæ. Strab. Harp. Steph. Suid. Bek. p. 338.
ΑΤΗΝΕΙΣ . . . . ( <i>Ἀθήνη</i> )	Antiochis, At- talis	Bö. 172, 593. 'E. 'A. 17, 18. Steph.
ΑΥΡΙΔΑΙ . . . .	Hippothoontis?	Bö. 594, 595. Bek. p. 348?
* ΑΦΙΔΝΑΙΟΙ . . . ( <i>Ἀφιδνα, Ἀφιδναί</i> )	Æantis, Leon- tis, Hadrianis	Bö. 142, 147, &c. 'E. 'A. 18, 113. Herodot. Dem. Æschin. Isæ. Din. Plut. Strab. Paus. Harp. in <i>Θυργωνίδαι</i> . Sch. Plat.
* ΑΧΑΡΝΕΙΣ . . . . ( <i>Ἀχάρνα, Ἀχαρναί</i> )	Ceneis	Bö. 138, 142, &c. 'E. 'A. 18, &c. Thuc. Aristoph. et Sch. Dem. Æschin. Isæ. Lycurg. Steph. Etym. M. in <i>Δρναχαρ- ρεῦ</i> . Sch. Aristid.
ΑΧΕΡΔΟΥΣΙΟΙ . . . ( <i>Ἀχέρδους</i> )	Hippothoontis	Bö. 81. 'E. A. 20. Aristoph Æschin. Bek. p. 348. Mar- cellin. vit. Thuc. <i>Ἀχραδού- σιοι</i> , Steph. Sch. Aristoph. <sup>1</sup>
* BATHŒN <sup>2</sup> . . . .	Ægeis	Bö. 141, 183. 'E. 'A. 15. Inscr. M. B. 285. Isocr. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Steph. Hes.
ΒΕΡΕΝΕΙΚΙΔΑΙ, } ΒΕΡΝΕΙΚΙΔΑΙ	Ptolemais	Bö. 275, 303, &c. Steph. Hes.

<sup>1</sup> *Ἀχράς* ὁ καρπὸς τῆς ἀχέρδου. Bek. p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription lately discovered at Athens renders probable that this demus was in the Mesogæa. See *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*. Roma, Apr. 1840, p. 68.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΒΗΣΑΙΕΙΣ, ΒΗΣΕΕΙΣ (Βῆσα)	Antiochis, Hadrianis	Bö. 172, 190, &c. 'E. 'A. 23. Xen. Isæ. Harp. Suid.
ΒΟΥΤΑΔΑΙ . . . (Βουρεία)	Æneis, Ægeis	Bö. 147, 150. Inscr. ap. Mueller de Muniment. Att. Æschin. Harp. Suid. Etym. M.
* ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝΙΟΙ . . . . . (Βραυρών)		Herodot. Euripid. Plut. Din. Strab. Paus. Steph. Hes.
* ΓΑΡΓΗΤΤΙΟΙ . . . (Γαργηττός)	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 183, 227, &c. 'E. 'A. 119. Aristoph. et Sch. Plut. Athen. Diogen. Strab. Paus. Steph. Hes.
* ΔΑΙΔΑΛΙΔΑΙ . . .	Cecropis . . .	Sch. Sophoclis. Diodor. Sic. Steph.
* ΔΕΙΡΑΔΙΩΤΑΙ (Δείραδες)	Leontis . . .	Bö. 181, 276, &c. Plut. Harp. Suid. Steph. Bek. p. 240.
* ΔΕΚΕΛΕΕΙΣ, ΔΕΚΕ- ΛΕΙΣ (Δεκέλεια)	Hippothoontis	Bö. 150, 172, 224. Herodot. Thuc. Dem. Æschin. Lysias. Steph. Bek. p. 240.
* ΔΙΟΜΕΙΕΙΣ . . . (Διόμεια)	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 275. Aristoph. et Sch. Steph. Suid. Bek. p. 240.
* ΕΙΚΑΡΙΕΙΣ, ΙΚΑΡΙΕΙΣ (Ίκαρια)	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 117, 147, &c. 'E. 'A. 119. Dem. Lys. Athen. Harp. Steph. Hes.
ΕΙΤΕΑΙΟΙ, ΙΤΕΑΙΟΙ (Ιτέα)	Antiochis,	Bö. 172, 174, &c. 'E. 'A. 20. Acamantis, Harp. Steph. Suid. Hes. Phot.
* ΕΚΑΛΕΙΟΙ . . . (Εκάλη)	Leontis . . .	Dem. Plut. Steph. Hes. Bek. p. 247.
* ΕΛΑΙΟΥΣΙΟΙ, ΕΛΕ- ΟΥΣΙΟΙ (Ελαιούς)	Hippothoontis, Hadrianis	Bö. 150, 172, &c. Diod. Perieg. ap. Steph. 'Ελαυῆς, Dionys. Tryph. ap. Steph. Bek. p. 249.
ΕΛΕΙΟΙ . . . . .		Bö. 138.
* ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΙ . . . (Ἐλευσίς)	Hippothoontis	Bö. 113, 150, &c. 'E. 'A. 98. Dem. Isæ. Strab. Steph.
ΕΠΕΙΚΙΔΑΙ, ΕΠΕΙ- ΚΙΔΑΙ	Cecropis . . .	Bö. 190, 191, &c. Steph.
* ΕΠΙΚΗΦΗΣΙΟΙ . . . (Ἐπικηφησία)	Æneis . . .	Ins. ap. Dobree Advers. Dio- gen. Steph.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
ΕΡΕΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ, ΕΠΙ- ΚΕΕΙΣ (Ἐρίκεια)	Ægeis . .	Bö. 115, 190, &c. Inscr. M.B. 285. Steph. Suid.
* ΕΡΜΕΙΟΙ . . . .	Acamantis .	Bö. 138, 158, &c. 'E. 'A. 20. Plut. Steph. Harp. Suid. Phot.
(Ἑρμος, Ἑρμοί)		
ΕΡΟΙΑΔΑΙ, ΕΡΩΙΑΔΑΙ	Antiochis .	Bö. 116, 172. Dem. Plat. ap. Diogen. Hippothoontis, Harp. Steph. Hes. Phot.
ΕΡΧΙΕΙΣ . . . .	Ægeis . .	Bö. 115, 147, &c. 'E. 'A. 1, &c. Plat. Dem. Æschin. Isæ. Din. Diogen. Dionys. Harp. Hes. 'Ερχιάδαι, Phot.
(Ἑρχεια)		
ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΘΕΝ . .	Ægeis . .	Bö. 115, 281, 629. 'Ιστιαιεῖς, Dem. Strab. Phot. in 'Ιστέα.
(Ἑστίαια, Ἰστίαια)		
* ΕΥΠΥΡΙΔΑΙ . . . .	Leontis . .	Bö. 142, 248, &c. Steph. Etym. M.
ΕΥΩΝΥΜΕΙΣ . .	Erechtheis .	Bö. 142, 147, &c. 'E. 'A. 26, &c. Dem. Æschin. Plat. et Theophr. ap. Diogen. Vit. X. Rhet. in Lycurg. Harp. Steph. Hes.
(Εὐωνυμία, Εὐώνυμος)		
* ΕΧΕΛΙΔΑΙ . . . . .		Steph. Etym. M. Hes.
ΗΡΕΣΙΔΑΙ . . . .	Acamantis .	Bö. 191, 192. Plat. Diogen. Εἰρεσίδαι, Steph. Bek. p. 246.
* ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΑΔΑΙ . .	Acamantis .	Isæ. Diogen. Steph.
(Ἡφαίστεια)		
ΘΗΜΑΚΕΙΣ . . . .	Erechtheis, Ptolemais,	Bö. 638, 639, 640. Andocid. Harp. Steph. Phot.
(Θημακός, Θημακοί)		
* ΘΟΡΕΙΣ, ΘΟΡΑΘΕΝ	Antiochis .	Bö. 172. Strab. Harp. Steph. Etym. M. Phot.
(Θοραί)		
* ΘΟΡΙΚΙΟΙ . . . .	Acamantis .	Bö. 111, 148, &c. 'E. 'A. 58. Ins. M. B. 285. Herodot. Thuc. Dem. Strab. Harp. Steph. Hes. Phot. Etym. M. Sch. Sophocl.
(Θορικός)		
* ΘΡΙΑΣΙΟΙ . . . .	Æneis . .	Bö. 105, 181, &c. Herodot. Thuc. Dem. Isæ. Strab. Steph. Phot.
(Θρία)		

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΘΥΜΑΙΤΑΔΑΙ . . .	Hippothoontis	Bö. 148. Aristoph. et Sch. Steph. Phot. <i>Θυμοιτάδαι</i> , Dem. Harp. Suid. Hes. J. Poll.
* ΘΥΡΓΩΝΙΑΔΑΙ . . .	Æantis, Ptolemais	Harp. Suid. Phot.
ΙΠΠΟΤΑΜΑΔΑΙ . . .	Æneis . . .	Steph. Phot.
* ΙΦΙΣΤΙΑΔΑΙ . . .	Acamantis	Bö. 295. Inscr. M. B. 285. Ins. ined. v. sup. p. 45, n. 4. Hes. in <i>Ἰφίστιος</i> , <i>Ἰφιάσται</i> .
ΙΩΝΙΑΔΑΙ . . . . .	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 115, 183, 295. Inscr. M. B. 285. Steph. Hes. Phot.
ΚΕΙΡΙΑΔΑΙ . . . . .	Hippothoontis	Bö. 295, 773. 'E. 'A. 124. Ins. M. B. 285. Dem. Harp. Steph. Suid. Hes. <i>Ægeis</i> , Bek. p. 219.
* ΕΚ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΝ . . .	Acamantis	Bö. 150, 191, &c. 'E. 'A. 9, 98. Dem. Æschin. Harp. Suid. Phot. Sch. Aristid.
* ΚΕΦΑΛΗΘΕΝ . . .	Acamantis	Bö. 151, 191, &c. 'E. 'A. 23. Aristoph. et Sch. Dem. Paus. Harp. Suid. Phot.
ΕΚ ΚΗΔΩΝ . . . . .	Erechtheis	Bö. 275, 305. Inscr. ap. Mu- eller Munim. Att. Dem.
ΚΗΤΤΙΟΙ . . . . . ( <i>Κηττόες</i> , <i>Κηττοί</i> )	Leontis . . .	Bö. 111. 'E. 'A. 58, 98. Diod. Perieg. ap. Harp. Suid. in <i>Εὐβουλος</i> . Phot.
* ΚΗΦΙΣΙΕΙΣ . . . . . ( <i>Κηφισία</i> )	Erechtheis	Bö. 116, 160, &c. 'E. 'A. 29, &c. Dem. Æschin. Lys. Isæ. Plut. Plat. ap. Diogen. Strab. Philostrat. Harp. Phot.
ΚΙΚΥΝΝΕΙΣ . . . . . ( <i>Κίκυννα</i> )	Acamantis, Cecropis ?	Bö. 172, 191, &c. 'E. 'A. 42. Aristoph. et Sch. Lys. Hes.
ΚΟΘΩΚΙΑΔΑΙ . . . . .	Æneis . . .	Bö. 151. 'E. 'A. 28, 30. Dem. Æschin. in ep. Vit. X. Rhet. in Æschin. Phot.
* ΕΚ ΚΟΙΛΗΣ . . . . .	Hippothoontis	Bö. 158, 275, &c. 'E. 'A. 9. Dem. Æschin. Din.



DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΚΟΛΛΥΤΕΙΣ . . . (Κολλυτός)	Ægeis . .	Bö. 115, 139, &c. 'E. 'A. 9, &c. Dem. Æschin. Din. Harp.
* ΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΣ, ΕΚ ΚΟ- ΛΩΝΟΥ, ΚΟΛΩΝΗ- ΘΕΝ	Antiochis, Ægeis	Bö. 115, 172, &c. Inscr. M. B. 285. Dem. Æschin. Andro- tion ap. Sch. Aristid. Κολωνι- άται, Schol. Soph.
ΚΟΝΘΥΛΙΔΑΙ . . . (Κονθύλη)	Pandionis, Ptolemais	Bö. 199. Aristoph. et Sch. Phot. Κονθυλεῖς, Aristoph.
ΚΟΠΡΕΙΟΙ . . .	Hippochoontis	Bö. 172, 281. Aristoph. Suid.
* ΚΟΡΥΔΑΛΛΕΙΣ . . . (Κορυδαλλός)	Hippochoontis, Attalis?	Bo. 172, 194. Theophr. ap. Athen. Strab. Steph.
ΚΡΙΩΕΙΣ . . . . (Κριῶα)	Antiochis . .	Bö. 665. 'E. 'A. 97. Ari- stoph. et Sch. Dem. Harp. Steph. Phot. Hes.
* ΚΡΩΠΙΔΑΙ . . . (Κρωπία)	Leontis . .	Bö. 298, 466, 666. Steph. Sch. Aristoph.
* ΚΥΔΑΘΗΝΑΙΕΙΣ . . (Κυδαθήναιον)	Pandionis . .	Bö. 141, 147, &c. 'E. 'A. 9, &c. Dem. Æschin. Aristoph. Plat. Vit. X. Rhet. in Andoc. Harp. Steph. Suid. Hes. Phot. Sch. Aristid.
ΚΥΔΑΝΤΙΔΑΙ . . .	Ægeis, Ptole- mais	Bö. 115, 147, 183. Dem. Din. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot. Hes.
* ΚΥΘΗΡΙΟΙ, ΚΥΘΗΡ- ΡΙΟΙ (Κύθηρος)	Pandionis . .	Bö. 128, 213, 275. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot.
ΚΥΚΑΛΑ, Gent. Desid.	Æantis . .	Hes.
ΚΥΡΤΕΙΔΑΙ . . . .	Acamantis . .	Bö. 192. Κυρτιάδαι, Hes.
* ΛΑΚΙΕΙΣ, ΛΑΚΚΙΑ- ΔΑΙ (Λακία)	Æneis . .	Bö. 141, 268. 'E. 'A. 9, &c. Dem. Plut. Paus. Steph. Hes. Phot.
* ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΙΣ ΚΑΘ- ΥΠΕΡΘΕΝ	Erechtheis . .	Bö. 101, 125, &c. 'E. 'A. 94, 98. Dem. Isæ. Lys. Strab.
* ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΙΣ ΥΠΕΝ- ΕΡΘΕΝ, or ΠΑΡΑ- ΛΙΟΙ (Λαμπτραί) <sup>1</sup>	Erechtheis	Paus. Harp. Hes. Phot.

<sup>1</sup> According to Hesychius, the two Lamptræ formed one demus; but Photius says, Λαμπρεῖς δισσοὶ δῆμοι τῆς Ἐρεχθίδος: and the Λαμπρεὺς ἔγωγε τῶν κάτω of Aristophanes (ap. Harp. in v.) as well as the example of Agryle, Pæania, and Pergase, favour the conclusion that they were separate demi.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
ΛΕΚΚΟΝ, Gent. Desid.	Antiochis .	Hes.
ΛΕΥΚΟΝΟΕΙΣ, ΛΕΥ- ΚΟΝΟΙΕΙΣ (Λευκόνοϊων)	Leontis . .	Bö. 108, 270, &c. 'E. 'A. 124. Aristoph. Dem. Phryn. ap. Sch. Aristoph. Plut. Harp. Suid. Phot. Vit. X. Rhet. in Din.
ΛΕΥΚΟΠΥΡΑ Gent. desid.	Antiochis .	Hes.
ΛΟΥΣΙΕΙΣ . . .	Æneis . .	Dem. Isæ. Harp. Steph. Suid. Hes. Phot.
(Λουσία)		
* ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΙΟΙ . .	Æantis . .	Bö. 117, 147, &c. 'E. 'A. 50. Herodot. Aristoph. Pindar, Aristot. Philost. Plut. Strab. Phot. <i>Leontis</i> , Steph.
(Μαραθῶν)		
* ΜΕΛΑΙΝΕΙΣ . . .	Antiochis .	Callim. Statius. Steph.
(Μελαιναί)		
* ΜΕΛΙΤΕΙΣ . . .	Cecropis .	Bö. 85, 172, &c. 'E. A. 9, 100. Harp. Suid. Phot. Sch. Aristid.
(Μελίτη)		
* ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΟΙ	Pandionis .	Bö. 115, 193, &c. 'E. 'A. 26. Dem. Æschin. Lys. Plut. Strab. Paus. Steph. Suid. Sch. Aristoph.
(Μυρρίνοῦς)		
* ΞΥΠΕΤΑΙΩΝΕΣ . .	Cecropis . .	Bö. 158, 172, &c. Psephism. ap. Diogen. Plat. ap. Diog. Dem. Lycurg. Strab. Steph. Harp. Hes. Phot. J. Poll. <i>Ξυπέταιοι</i> , Plut.
(Ξυπέτη)		
ΟΑΘΕΝ, ΩΑΘΕΝ . .	Pandionis, Hadrianis	Bö. 184, 199, &c. Steph. Hes. Etym. M. 'Οαῖς, Dionys. Tryph. ap. Steph.
ΟΗΘΕΝ . . . .	Æneis . .	Bö. 223, 470, 740. 'E. 'A. 9, 113. Steph. in 'Οα.
* ΟΙΗΘΕΝ . . . .	Pandionis .	Philochor. et Diod. Perieg. ap. Harp. Sch. Sophocl.
* ΟΙΝΑΙΟΙ . . . .	Æantis . .	Bö. 172. Philoch. ap. Sch. Sophocl. Strab. Harp. Steph. Phot. in <i>Οινόη</i> .
(Οινόη)		
* ΟΙΝΑΙΟΙ <sup>1</sup> . . .	Hippothoontis	Bö. 172. Philoch. l. l. He- rodot. Thuc. Harp. Phot. in <i>Οινόη</i> .
(Οινόη)		

<sup>1</sup> One of the *Οἰναῖοι* was transferred to the Attalis, and the other to the

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΕΞ ΟΙΟΥ . . . . (Οἶον Δεκελεικόν)	Hippothoontis	Bö. 172. Diod. Perieg. ap. Harp. Suid.
* ΕΞ ΟΙΟΥ <sup>1</sup> . . . . (Οἶον Κεραμεικόν)	Leontis . . .	Bö. 275, 281, 287. Diod. Perieg. ap. Harp. Steph. Suid.
* ΟΤΡΥΝΕΙΣ . . . .	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 115. Dem. Antiphanes ap. Athen.
* ΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΙΣ, ΚΑΘΥ- ΠΕΡΘΕΝ	Pandionis . .	Bö. 142, 150, &c. 'E. 'A. 82, 98. Herodot. Plat. Dem. Æs- chin. Lys. Isæ. Plut. Harp. Suid. Phot.
* ΠΑΙΑΝΙΕΙΣ, ΥΠΕΝ- ΕΡΘΕΝ (Παιανία)	Pandionis	
* ΠΑΙΟΝΙΔΑΙ . . . .	Leontis . . .	Bö. 183, 270, 275. Aristoph. Harp. Suid. Phot. in Παι- ανιδῆς.
* ΠΑΛΛΗΝΕΙΣ . . . . (Παλλήνη)	Antiochis . .	Bö. 138, 158, &c. 'E. 'A. 23, 50. Aristoph. et Sch. Herodot. Eurip. Theophr. ap. Diogen. Pseph. in Vit. X. Rhet. Dem. Andocid. Harp. Steph. Phot.
ΠΑΜΒΩΤΑΔΑΙ . . . .	Erechtheis . .	Bö. 285, 293. p. 908. Dem. Harp. Steph. Suid.
* ΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙΣ . . . .	Hippothoontis	Bö. 101, 108, &c. 'E. 'A. 9. Dem. Æschin. Strab. Paus. Steph. J. Poll.
* ΠΕΝΤΕΛΕΙΣ, ΠΕΝ- ΤΕΛΗΘΕΝ	Antiochis . .	Plut. Lucian. Steph.
ΠΕΡΓΑΣΗΘΕΝ, ΠΕΓ- ΓΑΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΘΥΠΕΡΘΕΝ	Erechtheis . .	Bö. 141, 281. 'E. 'A. 15, 121, &c. Aristoph. et Sch. Athen.
* ΠΕΡΓΑΣΗΘΕΝ, ΠΕΡ- ΓΑΣΕΙΣ ΥΠΕΝΕΡΘΕΝ	Erechtheis . .	Philoch. ap. Dionys. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot.

Ptolemais. V. Hesych. in Οἶναί (l. Οἶναῖοι) with the corrections of Scaliger.

<sup>1</sup> Demosthenes (in Macart.) mentions some citizens ἐξ Οἶου, but to which of the two demi he refers is uncertain. There are several inscriptions in which both the ΟΙΝΑΙΟΙ and the ΕΞ ΟΙΟΥ occur without any indication of tribe, and consequently without any certainty as to the particular demus.

DRMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
ΠΕΡΙΘΟΙΔΑΙ . . .	Æneis . . .	Bö. 122, 155, &c. Dem. Æschin. Plut. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot. Apostolius.
* ΠΕΡΡΙΔΑΙ, ΠΕΡΣΙ- ΔΑΙ	Æantis, An- tiochis	Nicand. Thyat. ap. Harp. in Θυργωνίδαι. Steph. Hes.
* ΠΗΛΗΚΕΣ . . .	Leontis . . .	Bö. 102. Æschin. Harp. Steph. Phot.
ΠΙΘΕΙΣ . . . . (Πίθος)	Cecropis . . .	Bö. No. 151, 172, &c. 'E. 'A. 26. Steph. Πιρθεῖς, Aristot. Plat. Dem. Isæ. Harp. Phot.
* ΠΛΩΘΕΙΕΙΣ, ΠΛΩ- ΘΕΙΣ (Πλώθεια)	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 82, 115, &c. Dem. Isæ. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot.
ΠΟΡΙΟΙ . . . . (Πόρος)	Acamantis, . Attalis?	Bö. 275. 755. 'E. 'A. 26. Harp. Hes. Suid. Phot. Πο- ριεῖς, Hes.
* ΠΟΤΑΜΙΟΙ . . . (Ποταμοί)	Leontis . . .	Bö. 756. 'E. 'A. 133. Isæ. Strab. Paus. Plut. Diogen. Harp. Phot. Etym. M. in Δρυαχαρνεῦ, Σφήττιοι.
* ΠΡΑΣΙΕΙΣ . . . (Πρασίαι)	Pandionis . . .	Bö. 190, 193, &c. Thuc. Strab. Paus. Steph.
* ΠΡΟΒΑΛΙΣΙΟΙ . . (Προβάλωθος)	Pandionis . . .	Bö. 122, 148, &c. Dem. Vit. X. Rhet. in Æschin. Strab. Steph.
* ΠΡΟΣΠΑΛΤΙΟΙ . . (Πρόσπαλτα)	Acamantis . . .	Bö. 141, 200. Inscr. ined. v. sup. p. 73, n. 1. 'E. 'A. 15, 23. Eupolis ap. Athen. Dem. Isæ. Lys. ap. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot. Etym. M. in Δρυαχαρνεῦ.
ΠΤΕΛΕΑΣΙΟΙ . . . (Πτελέαι)	Æneis . . .	Bö. 760. Steph. Eustath. ad Il. B.
ΡΑΚΙΔΑΙ . . . .	Acamantis . . .	Phot.
* ΡΑΜΝΟΥΣΙΟΙ . . . (Ραμνοῦς)	Æantis . . .	Bö. 124, 172, &c. 'E. 'A. 98, &c. Plat. Dem. Æschin. Lys. Plut. Athen. Strab. Paus. Steph. Sch. Aristoph.



DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΙΟΙ (Σαλαμίς)		Bö. 108, 762, 763 <sup>1</sup> . Dem. Æschin. Philostr. in Heroic.
* ΣΗΜΑΧΙΔΑΙ (Σήμαχος)	Antiochis	Bö. 297. Steph. Hes. Phot.
* ΣΚΑΜΒΩΝΙΔΑΙ	Leontis	Bö. 70, 158, 180. 'E. 'A. 9, 20. Aristoph. et Sch. Plut. Paus. Harp. Hes. Phot. Sch. Aristid.
* ΣΟΥΝΙΕΙΣ (Σούνιον)	Leontis, Attalis	Bö. 124, 180, &c. 'E. 'A. 79. Sophocl. Herodot. Dem. Æschin. Lys. Steph. Phot. Steph.
ΣΠΟΡΓΙΛΙΟΙ (Σπόργιλος)		
* ΣΤΕΙΡΙΕΙΣ (Στειρία)	Pandionis	Bö. 158, 190, &c. 'E. 'A. 106. Xen. Plut. Diod. Sic. Æschin. Lys. Lucian. Strab. Paus. Harp. Steph. Phot. Suid. Hes. Sch. Aristoph.
ΣΥΒΡΙΔΑΙ	Erechtheis	Bö. 281, 293, 306. Steph. Phot. Hes. in Συβριασμός.
ΣΥΠΑΛΗΤΤΙΟΙ, ΣΥ- ΠΑΛΗΤΤΕΙΣ (Συπαληττός)	Cecropis	Pseph. ap. Diogen. Isæ. Steph. Hes. Phot.
* ΣΦΕΝΔΑΛΕΙΣ (Σφενδάλη)	Hippothoontis	Herodot. Steph. Hes.
* ΣΦΗΤΤΙΟΙ (Σφηττός)	Acamantis	Bö. 147, 191, &c. 'E. 'A. 50. Inscr. M. B. 285. Ari- stoph. et Sch. Plat. Dem. Æschin. Lys. Isæ. Athen. Diod. Sic. Harp. Steph. Phot. Sch. Eurip.
ΤΑΡΣΕΙΣ	Ptolemais?	Bö. 294. 774.
ΤΕΙΘΡΑΣΙΟΙ (Τίθρας)	Ægeis	Bö. 115, 775. Aristoph. et Sch. Theopompus ap. Athen. Steph. Phot.

<sup>1</sup> The first of these inscriptions was not of the time when Salamis was a demus: nor is it certain that either of the two others was. See above, p. 168.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΤΙΤΑΚΙΔΑΙ . . .	Æantis, Anti- ochus	Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot. Nicand. ap. Harp. in <i>Θυργω- νίδαι</i> .
* ΤΡΙΚΟΡΕΥΣΙΟΙ, ΤΡΙΚΟΡΥΣΙΟΙ . . . . .	Æantis . . . . .	Bö. 111, 172, &c. Aristoph. et Sch. Diod. Sic. Strab. Steph.
(Τρικόρυθος, Τρικόρινθος)		
* ΤΡΙΝΕΜΕΙΕΙΣ, ΤΡΙ- ΝΕΜΕΙΣ	Cecropis . . .	Bö. 115, 275. Strab. Steph. Callim. ap. Steph.
(Τρινέμεια)		
ΤΥΡΜΕΙΔΑΙ . . .	Æneis, Attalis	Bö. 194. 778. Steph. Suid. Phot.
ΥΒΑΔΑΙ . . . . .	Leontis . . .	Bö. 353, 375, &c. Theophr. Diogen. Steph. Suid. Phot. Etym. M.
(Υβα)		
* ΦΑΛΗΡΕΙΣ . . . . .	Æantis . . .	Bö. 150, 172, &c. Dem. Strab. Steph. <i>Antiochis</i> , Harp. Suid. Phot.
(Φάληρον)		
ΦΗΓΑΙΕΙΣ . . . . .	Æantis, Ægeis	Bö. 115, 183. Harp. Steph. Etym. M.
(Φηγαία)		
ΦΗΓΑΙΕΙΣ <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	Pandionis . . .	Steph.
(Φηγαία)		
* ΦΗΓΟΥΣΙΟΙ . . . . .	Erechtheis . . .	Bö. 275. Andocid. Lys. ap. Harp. Steph. Harp. Suid. Phot. Etym. M.
(Φηγοῦς)		
* ΦΙΛΑΙΔΑΙ . . . . .	Ægeis . . .	Bö. 111, 115, &c. Plat. Plut. Steph. Sch. Aristoph. Suid. in <i>Ἀρκτός</i> .
* ΦΛΥΕΙΣ . . . . .	Cecropis, Pto- lemais	Bö. 147, 172, &c. 'E. 'A. 15, &c. Aristoph. et Sch. Dem. Isæ. Plut. Paus. Harp. Steph. Suid. Phot. Etym. M.
(Φλυεία)		
ΦΡΕΑΡΡΙΟΙ . . . . .	Leontis . . .	Bö. 112, 142, &c. 'E. 'A. 18, 113. Dem. Lys. Isæ. Plut. Diogen. Harp. Steph. Hes. Etym. M.
(Φρέαρροι)		

<sup>1</sup> One of the Φηγαεῖς belonged in later times to the Hadrianis. Bö. 275. These names occur repeatedly in inscriptions without any means of distinguishing them.

DEMI.	TRIBES.	AUTHORITIES.
* ΦΥΛΑΣΙΟΙ (Φυλή)	Æneis	Bö. 186, 190, &c. Aristoph. et Sch. Pseph. ap. Dem. Lys. Xen. Diod. Sic. Harp. Steph. Etym. M.
ΦΥΡΝ	Antiochis	Bö. 275.
X <sup>1</sup>	Erechtheis	Bö. 281.
ΧΟΛΑΡΓΕΙΣ (Χόλαργος, Χολάργοι, Χολαργία)	Acamantis	Bö. 147, 191, &c. 'E. 'A. 20, 50. Aristoph. et Sch. Plat. Dem. Æschin. Isæ. Lycurg. Plut. Harp. Steph. Hes. Sch. Aristid.
* ΧΟΛΛΕΙΔΑΙ	Leontis	Bö. 101, 271, &c. Aristoph. et Sch. Plat. ap. Diogen. Dem. Lys. Harp. Steph. Suid. <i>Ægeis</i> , Sch. Aristoph.
* ΨΑΦΙ(ΔΑΙ) (Ψαφίς)	Æantis	Bö. 275. Strabo.
. . . ΘΟΝΙΟΙ	Leontis	Bö. 281.

Some of the following were probably Demi, and may hereafter receive confirmation from monumental documents; others are more than doubtful:

DEMI.	TRIBES.
ΑΓΡΙΑΔΑΙ.	Hippochoontis.
'Αζηνία καὶ Ἀμαζάντεια καὶ Ἀνακαία, ἔτι δὲ Ἀχερδοῦς καὶ Ἀγριάδαι δῆμοι ταῦτα πάντα Ἱπποθωντίδος (Bekker. Anecd. Gr. p. 348). There is some reason to suspect that Ἀγριάδαι is an error for Ἀνρίδαι.	

<sup>1</sup> No more than the tribe and the initial letter of this demus are in the inscription: it was perhaps Χαστιεῖς, of which we have the following notice from Hesychius, Χαστιᾶ· τὸν ἀπὸ δῆμον, Χαστιεῖς γὰρ δῆμος. And again, Χαστιεῖς· ὄνομα δῆμον.

Comparing an inscription copied by Spon at Eleusis (Ὁνασίκλεια Δημητρίου Αὐρίδου θυγάτηρ. Bō. 594), with another copied at Athens by Fourmont ( . . . . ἵππην Θρασυκλείους Αὐρίδου θυγατέρα ὁ ἀνὴρ Ἀλεξίων Ἀζηνιεὺς καὶ οἱ υἱοί. Bō. 595), the alliance of a man of Azenia with a woman of the Auridæ seems natural, if the Auridæ like the Azenienses belonged to the Hippothoontis. The similarity of termination in the names of the man and woman belonging to the demus Auridæ is another circumstance in these inscriptions not unworthy of remark; and we may almost suspect, comparing the two inscriptions with the article in the *Lexicon*, that all the five demi were in the same vicinity.

#### ΑΙΓΙΑΛΕΙΣ.

Λυσίμαχος Λυσίππου Αἰγιαλεύς. Demosth. c. Neær. p. 1387.

This may be a textual error for Αἰγυλιεύς, but the difference of derivation in the two words leaves the question still open.

#### ΑΡΓΙΑΙΕΙΣ.

Ἀργιλία occurs only in Hesychius who omits Αἰγιλία.

If it be an error for Αἰγιλία, we must suppose the error to have occurred before the arrangement of the *Lexicon*. Αἰγιλία belonged to the Antiochis, as appears from the concurrent testimony of Stephanus, Harpocration, and Suidas. Whereas Ἀργιλία is ascribed by Hesychius to the Attalis. This indeed may have been a change of tribe on the formation of the Attalis; but the etymology of the two names furnishes a reason for supposing that they may have been different demi, as well as the fact, that on the coast of Thrace, adjacent to the Athenian colony of Amphipolis, there was a town named Argilus: and that it had been colonized by the Andrii, who were of Attic origin. Herodot. 7, 115. Thucyd. 4, 103. 7, 57.

#### ΑΡΜΑΤΕΙΣ.

Stephanus attests that the inhabitants of Harma near Phyle were thus called: and the addition of the gentile adjective to the name in his *Lexicon*, would leave the strongest reason for thinking that Harma was a demus, were not



that author generally so careful, when mentioning a demus, to state the fact of its having been so ; which certainly does not appear in our present Epitome of Stephanus ; for Corsini has justly remarked that Spon misunderstood the text in this particular. The words *δῆμος ἔχων φρούριον ὀχυρόν* apply not to Harma, but to Phyle : Eustathius (ad Il. B. 499) has fallen into the same error. A part of the article in Stephanus was evidently taken from Strabo ; the words *περὶ Φυλὴν, δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὁμορον τῇ Ταναγρικῇ*, being found in both authors. Upon the whole the epitomiser has left the article in such confusion that it may fairly be suspected from the mention of the gentile *Ἀρματεὺς*, that Stephanus had in his original work stated Harma to have been a demus.

#### ΒΟΙΩΤΙΟΙ.

Corsini adduces the following arguments, in favour of there having been a demus of this name :—1. Philostratus, in his life of Herodes, speaking of the earth-born Hercules (*Ἡρακλῆς γηγενής*), who is said to have appeared in the battle of Marathon, fighting against the Persians, says, that he was supposed to have been the son of the hero Marathon by a peasant woman (*γυνὴ βουκόλος*), and to have been born in the Bæotian demus (*ἐν τῷ Βοιωτῷ δήμῳ*) ; he was worshipped (Philostratus adds) by the Marathonian and Bæotian peasants (*γεωργοὶ Μαραθῶνιοι καὶ Βοιώτιοι*).—2. Demosthenes, in the oration against Lacritus, adduces among the names of some Attic witnesses, distinguished as usual by their demi, that of *Κηφισόδωρος Βοιώτιος* : if, says Corsini, Cephisodorus, had been of the province Bæotia, Demosthenes would have described him by his particular city, and not vaguely as a Bæotian, which he thinks was quite contrary to Athenian customs. To these arguments we may perhaps add, that *Βοιωτὸς* and not *Βοιώτιος* was the usual ethnic adjective of the province. Corsini imagined, that the passage in Philostratus might possibly be explained by the proximity of Marathon to the province Bæotia ; but it is a mistake to suppose that Marathon is near the frontier of Bæotia.

## ΓΟΡΓΥΝΗ.

Δισμωτήριον ὑπόγειον ἢ ἀπὸ δήμου τῆς Ἀττικῆς κακοπράγμο-  
νος. Suid. in Γοργύνῃ.

Βάραθρον ὄρυγμά ἐστιν, εἰς ὃ ὁ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος δῆμος τοὺς  
ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτους ἐνίβαλλον. Suid. in Βάραθρον.

## ΔΑΔΑΜΑΤΑΙ.

Δαδαμᾶται· δῆμος Κεκροπίδος. Bekker Anecd. Gr. p. 240.

Probably an error for Δαιδαλίδαι, this demus having been  
of the tribe Cecropis.

## ΕΔΑΠΤΕΩΝΕΣ.

Spon copied the following :

ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΑΘΗΝΑΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ ΕΔΑΠΤΕΩΝ  
ΦΑΥΣΤΟΣ ΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΙΛΗΧΙΟΣ.

About seventy years later Fourmont transcribed it with  
the variations of ΕΔΑΠΤΕΩΝ and ΟΛΥΣΤΟΣ. It has  
been supposed that the former of these two words may be  
corrected to ΕΚ ΛΑΜΠΤΡΕΩΝ ; but there is some diffi-  
culty in believing that two such competent scholars should  
have omitted three letters in an inscription which Spon  
describes as “très lisible.”

## ΕΔΩ . . . . .

This commencement of a demotic occurs in a fragment copied  
by Ciriaco d'Ancona (Bö. 116), which contains the names  
of four citizens. As one of these was an ΕΡΩΙΔΗΣ, ΕΔΩ  
is perhaps an error of the transcriber for ΕΡΩ.

## ΕΛΕΕΙΣ.

Ἐλεεῖς· δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς. ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ ἔλους.

Etym. M. in v. Perhaps the same as the ΕΛΕΙΟΙ.

## ΕΠΑΚΡΕΙΣ.

Πλωθίας ἅπαντας τελεῖν ἀργύριον ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ, ἢ ἐς Πλωθείας,  
ἢ ἐς Ἐπακρίας, ἢ ἐς Ἀθηναίους. Bö. C. I. G. No. 82.

## ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗΘΕΝ.

Ἀπολλοφάνης Σατύρου Ἐπιτροπῆθεν. An inscription copied  
by Fourmont. Bö. 626. Ἐπιτροπῆθεν is perhaps an  
error for Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν.

## ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΙΣ.

"Ενιοι δ' ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀποικισθῆναί φασι τὴν Ἰστίαίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἰστιαίων, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ Ἑρετριέων τὴν Ἑρέτριαν. Strabo, p. 445.

Ἑρετρίας δ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Μακίστου τῆς Τριφυλίας ἀποικισθῆναί φασιν ὑπ' Ἑριτριέως· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθήνησιν Ἑρετρίας, ἣ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀγορά. Strabo, p. 447.

As Histiaea was an Attic demus, it might naturally be inferred from these passages of Strabo that there was a demus named Eretria; but as no other author alludes to it, we may rather believe that Strabo himself understood that, although the part of Athens occupied by the Agora of his time had, in the early age to which he refers, been the situation of a demus of Eretria, it had never formed one of the 170 or 174 demi into which all Attica was divided in a later age.

## ΕΡΕΧΘΙΕΙΣ.

Ἑρεχθία, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῆς Αἰγιήδος, ἀπὸ Ἑρεχθέως τοῦ ξενίσαντος Δήμητραν· τετρασυνλλάβως δὲ τοὺς Ἑρεχθείας φασίν· ὁ δὴμότης Ἑρεχθειεύς. καὶ Ἰσοκράτης Ἑρεχθειεύς ἦν· τὰ τοπικά, Ἑρεχθιάθεν, Ἑρεχθίαζε, Ἑριχθιάσιν. Stephan. in v. Notwithstanding the precision of this article, it seems clear that ΕΡΧΙΕΙΣ of the tribe Ægeis was the demus intended. We know that Isocrates was a demotes of Ercheia: there is no instance of a demus bearing the same name as a tribe; and it is remarkable that the article occurs out of its order, and exactly where Ἑρχιεῖς would have been.

## ΘΡΙΩΝ.

Θρία δῆμος τῆς Οἰνηίδος φυλῆς, λέγεται καὶ Θριῶ . . . . . ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Θριαί . . . Θριαὶ δὲ αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι . . . . . Ἔστι δὲ καὶ δῆμος Θρίων ἀπὸ Θρίαντος. Stephan. in Θρία.

## ΕΞ ΙΟΥΣ.

The Scholiast of Aristophanes (Ran. 504.) gives as examples of the mode of distinguishing an Attic citizen, the adjuncts ἐκ Μελίσσης, ἐξ Ἰοῦς, ἐκ Κολώνων. Meursius proposes to read Οἴου for Ἰοῦς, but the emendation is rather violent.

## ΚΑΛΗΘΕΝ.

ὀξύνεται . . . . ὅτι δήμου ὄνομα, ὡς τὸ Περγασὴ καὶ Καλή.  
Stephan. in 'Αγγελή.

As Stephanus makes no mention of a demus under the word Καλή, the Καλή under 'Αγγελή is perhaps a textual error for Κεφαλὴ: not for 'Εκάλη, on account of the difference of accent.

## ΕΚ ΚΥΝΟΣΑΡΓΟΥΣ.

Κυνόσαργες\* γυμνάσιον ἐν τῇ 'Αττικῇ καὶ δῆμος ἀπὸ Διόμου  
ἀφ' οὗ ὁ χῶρος 'Αθήνησι Διόμεια καλεῖται . . . . ὁ δημότης  
καὶ τὸ ἐκ τόπου ἐκ Κυνοσάργους. Notwithstanding this  
testimony, there can be little doubt that Cynosarges was  
not a demus, but a part of the Diomenses. See Topo-  
graphy of Athens, p. 276.

## ΚΥΠΡΙΟΙ.

'Επὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους . . . . Εὐβουλος Μνησιθίου  
Κύπριος εἶπεν. Psephism. ap. Demosth. pro Cor. p. 249,  
Reiske.

καὶ κύριος Ξενοκλῆς Κύπριος τοῦ Πύρρου κλήρου λαχεῖν τὴν  
λῆξιν ἡξίωσεν. Isæ. pro Pyrrhi hæred. p. 15, Reiske.  
Possibly an error in both places for Κόπρειος.

## ΚΩΛΥΠΕΣ.

Κώλυπες\* δῆμος τῆς Αἰγυπιοῦ. Suid. in v. As the ΚΟΛΛΥ-  
ΤΕΙΣ belonged to the Ægeis (V. Harpocration, and the  
Inscriptions, Bö. 115, 183), and the name does not occur  
in Suidas, there can be little doubt that Collytus was  
the demus intended by him.

## ΛΗΝΑΙΕΙΣ.

Λήναιος ἄγων Διονύσου . . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ δῆμος. Stephan.  
in v.

## ΛΙΜΝΑΙ.

Λίμναι δῆμος 'Αττικῆς ἔνθα τιμᾶται ἡ Ἀρτεμις. Sch. Callim.  
H. in Del. 172. Diana was adored not in Limnæ of  
Athens, but in Limnæ of Messenia. It appears, therefore,  
that the Scholiast has confounded them; consequently his  
testimony as to the existence of an Athenian demus named



Limnæ may be safely disregarded ; and that as to a demus of Enna, may be strongly suspected.

#### ΕΚ ΜΥΡΡΙΝΟΥΤΤΗΣ.

Ægeis. Bö. 115, 297, 735. The difference of tribe gives reason to suspect that Myrrhinus, which in inscriptions as well as by authors is constantly ascribed to the Pandionis, was not the same demus as Myrrhinutta.

#### ΠΕΔΙΕΙΣ.

Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεύς καὶ Σωσικλῆς ὁ Πεδιεὺς, ὁμοῦ πλείοντες, &c. Plutarch. Themist. 14.

The Πεδιεῖς were an ancient division of the Attic people inhabiting the plain of Athens (see above, p. 12) ; but at the time of the battle of Salamis it does not seem likely that any citizen should have been designated as Plutarch here names Sosicles, unless the Πεδιεῖς had also been a demus.

#### ΣΦΕΝΔΟΝΙΟΙ.

The Παρθένοι Ὑακινθίδες were said to have been six daughters of Erechtheus, and to have been so called because they were slain in Mount Hyacinthus, which is above the Sphendonii, on the occasion of an invasion from Bœotia, (ἐσφαγιασθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ Ὑακίνθῳ καλουμένῳ πάγῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν Σφενδονίων.) Suid. in Παρθένοι Ὑακινθίδες.

The Sphendonii, it would seem therefore, dwelt near the Bœotian frontier, which leads one to suspect that Σφενδονίων is an error for Σφενδαλέων ; for the situation of which demus see above, p. 123.

#### ΦΟΡΜΙΣΙΟΙ.

Τὰ μικρὸν πρὸς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡλικίας γεγενημένα ὑπὸ Κεφάλου τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Θράσωνος τοῦ Ἐρχιέως καὶ Ἡλείου (τοῦ) Φορμισίου καὶ ἑτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν. Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 30, Reiske.

#### ΦΡΙΤΤΙΟΙ.

Βούλομαι . . . πρὸς Ἐρασικλία τὸν Φρίττιον ἢ πρὸς Φιλόστρατον τὸν Χολαργία οἰκείως ἔχειν. Alciphron, Ep. 1, 9. Possibly a textual error for Σφήττιον.

## ΧΙΤΩΝΙΟΙ.

Πότνια, πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύπτολι, χαῖρε Χιτώνη. Callimach.

H. in Dian. 225. Ubi Scholiastes : ἑορτῆς τελουμένης τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν τῇ Χιτώνη (ἐστὶ δὲ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς).

Χιτώνη· οὕτως ἡ Ἀρτεμις λέγεται, καὶ Χιτωνία. Ἐπιχαρμος ἐν Σφιγγί, “ καὶ τὸ τῆς Χιτωνίης ἀνέλεσται τίς μοι μέλος.” Stephan. in v. Upon which Meursius remarks,—“ Mutilus ille locus ; nam ut quid inter regionum, urbium locorumque nomina, nudum deæ unius cognomentum interserat ? Non hoc solet. Certe scripserit, Χιτώνη, δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἡ Ἀρτεμις.” But unfortunately the Scholiast of Callimachus, upon whom his emendation is founded, is a most uncertain authority.

## APPENDIX I.

### THE BATTLE OF MARATHON.

THE first expedition sent by Darius against Greece having been frustrated by violent storms, which destroyed the Persian ships in doubling the peninsula of Athos, and the Persian monarch still persisting in his designs, six hundred vessels of war, besides transports for cavalry, were collected in the ports of Cilicia. According to a common practice of hereditary despots, a prince of the royal family, Artaphernes, son of the king's half-brother of the same name, was placed at the head of the expedition, while the responsibility was given to Datis, a Mede, probably an experienced officer, who had served against the Greeks in Asia, and who was told by the king, in the usual Oriental style, that his head would be the forfeit if he failed in bringing back the Eretrienses and Athenians as prisoners into Persia<sup>1</sup>.

In the spring of the 490th year before the Christian æra, and the second after the failure of Mardonius, this new armament sailed to the westward from the coast of Cilicia.

After having proceeded along the Asiatic shore as far as Samus, the fleet, instead of coasting the northern extremity of the Ægean sea, as Mardonius had done, crossed directly through the islands which separate Ionia from Greece; partly, as Herodotus conjectures, because the

<sup>1</sup> Δάτιν τε ἄρχοντα εἶπεν ἦκειν ἄγοντα Ἑριτρίας καὶ Ἀθηναίους, εἰ βούλοιτο τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἔχειν. Plat. Menexen. 10.

Persian commanders dreaded the passage of Mount Athos, and partly because they designed in the direct route to punish the Naxii for their former resistance, an intention which they carried into effect by burning the abandoned town. Sparing Delus for the sake of its native deities, and having even sacrificed to them by burning large quantities of incense upon the altars, the Persian commanders then proceeded to Eubœa, and, landing at Carystus, ravaged the territory until the town submitted to them. They then entered the district of Eretria, but could not reduce the city until after having besieged the walls for six days; when the place was delivered to them by the treachery of two of the leading citizens. A body of 4000 Athenians, who had been sent to the assistance of Eretria from the neighbouring territory of Chalcis, which had been sixteen years in their possession<sup>1</sup>, withdrew themselves to Athens by the way of Oropus upon being informed of the disposition of the Eretrienses to submit. Eretria was given up to plunder, and the temples were burnt, in retaliation for that which had been done thirteen years before at Sardeis by the Greeks of Ionia<sup>2</sup>.

After a few days the Persians, having left the captive Eretrienses in the island of Ægileia, near the town of Styræ, which was a dependence of Eretria, crossed over with their fleet to the Attic coast.

Hippias, the exiled king of Athens, under whose guidance the Persians had placed themselves, chose Marathon for the

<sup>1</sup> Since the victory gained by the Athenians over the Chalcidenses, in the year B. C. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Among the reports relating to the battle of Marathon, which obtained credit in later times, it was said that the Persians repeated on this occasion a process for collecting their captives, which they had adopted according to Herodotus (3, 149. 6, 31) in the islands of Samus, Chius, Lesbos, and Tenedus. Strabo (p. 448) even cites Herodotus in proof of its having been employed at Eretria, but no such confirmation is found in the historian. This process (τὸ σαγηνεύειν) consisted in a large body of troops joining hands from sea to sea, and sweeping the inhabitants before them like fish into a net. Herodotus remarks, that the Persians were unable to practise this method on the Asiatic continent; it would have been equally inapplicable to Eubœa.



place of debarkation on the Attic shore, on account of its vicinity to Eretria (not more than twenty miles distant), and as the most commodious place in Attica for the evolutions of cavalry<sup>1</sup>. Here he arranged the ships in the bay, and drew up the land-forces in the plain.

The Athenians, upon receiving intelligence of the arrival of the barbarians at Marathon, marched to meet them, having previously dispatched a messenger to Sparta, to demand assistance from the Lacedæmonians. Two thousand men were voted; but as the Spartan law forbade the departure of their troops before the full moon, and it was then only the ninth day, the succours arrived too late to share in the victory.

The democratic principles of the constitution of Athens pervaded its army: the *στρατηγοί*, or military commanders of the ten tribes, claiming the same privilege which the *prytanæ* possessed in the civil government, had each the right of commanding the whole army in his turn. Miltiades, son of Cimon, son of Stesagoras, who was at the head of the tribe *Æneis*, was the tenth in rotation.

Soon after the Athenians had encamped in a field consecrated to Hercules at Marathon, the Plataeenses joined them with all their forces. The Athenian leaders meantime were divided in opinion as to the measures proper to be adopted. Five of them thought their numbers too small to venture an engagement with such a host as that opposed to them; the other five, among whom was Miltiades, were desirous of attacking the enemy. The polemarch Callimachus of Aphidna, who had the casting vote, gave it by the persuasion of Miltiades in favour of battle.

The four officers who had been of the same opinion as Miltiades, resigned to him their right of command; but he refused to make use of it until his own day arrived in due course. He then drew out the Athenians, in such a

<sup>1</sup> As I rode across the plain with a peasant of Vraná, he remarked that it was a fine place for cavalry to fight in. He had heard that a great battle was once fought here, but this was all he knew.

manner that their front was equal to that of the Persians, having weakened the centre for the sake of strengthening the wings. Callimachus was at the head of the *Æantis* on the right, the *Plataeenses* were on the left<sup>1</sup>. The army being thus arranged, and the victims presenting favourable appearances, the Athenians received the signal to engage, and rushed across the interval of eight stades which separated the two armies. "The Persians," says Herodotus, "when they saw the enemy move forward, prepared to receive them, although they considered the Athenians as men deprived of their senses, and advancing to certain destruction, thus rushing forward without cavalry or archers, and in so small a number. Such was the opinion of the Barbarians; but the Athenians, when they came to close combat, fought in a manner worthy of being recorded; for they are the first of the Greeks who have advanced to battle in running, and who have beheld without dread the dress and persons of the Medes: until this day, the Greeks were terrified even at their name. The combat lasted a long time. In the centre of the line, the Barbarians were victorious; for here were drawn up the Persians themselves, and the *Sacæ*, who, breaking the Greek line, drove them towards the interior country. At the two extremities, the Athenians and *Plataeenses* had the advantage; but, without pursuing the Barbarians, they united the two wings, and, attacking those who had broken the Greek centre, defeated and followed them with slaughter, until the Athenians arriving at the sea-shore called for fire and attacked the ships. The polemarch Callimachus, after having conducted himself bravely, was slain in the action, together with one of the ten commanders, *Stesileos*, son of *Thrasyleos*. There

<sup>1</sup> Τότε δὲ τασσομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι, ἐγένετο τοιόνδε τι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξιαις ὀλίγαις, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον· τὸ δὲ κίρας ἐκάτερον ἰβήρωτο πλήθει. Herod. 6, 111. The historian does not mention to what tribe Callimachus belonged; but Glaucias, an Athenian orator, showed from an elegy of *Æschylus* that the *Æantis* was on the right. Plutarch. Symp. 1. qu. 10.

also fell, among many other Athenians of note, Cynægeirus, son of Euphorion, who, having seized one of the ships by the elevated part of the stern, lost his hand, which was cut off with a hatchet. The Athenians made themselves masters of seven ships; the Barbarians pushed off with the rest, and, after taking away the Eretrian prisoners from the island in which they had been left, sailed round Sunium, with the design of arriving at Athens before the Athenians. It is reported among the Athenians that this was a contrivance of the Alcmaeonidæ, who raised a shield as a signal to the Persians in their ships<sup>1</sup>. The Athenians, however, marching with all possible speed to the succour of the city, reached it before the Barbarians, and, having moved from the Heracleium in Marathon, encamped in another Heracleium at Cynosarges<sup>2</sup>. The Barbarians having arrived near Phalerum, which was then the port of the Athenians, remained at anchor before that harbour, until they sailed back to Asia. In this battle at Marathon, there perished 6400 Barbarians, and of the Athenians 192."

Such is the only description of this famous action by any author who was living at the time. It bears the strongest

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (6, 121) disbelieved this accusation, and shows the improbability of it, as the Alcmaeonidæ were strenuous *μισοτιράννοι*. He adds, "It is certain, however, that the shield was raised: who raised it, I cannot say." The signal we must suppose to have been preconcerted, and to have been made from some point on Mount Brilessus, visible at once from Athens and from the Persian fleet. The shield was not an uncommon signal among the Greeks. Diodorus tells us that Demetrius, in the naval action in which he defeated Ptolemy at Salamis in Cyprus, raised a gilded shield as the signal for battle. Diodor. 20, 51.

<sup>2</sup> Both these sanctuaries were of great celebrity, which induced Herodotus to mark the concurrence. When Archidamus, king of Sparta, marched through Attica in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, he abstained from injuring the Marathonians out of respect to Hercules the local deity, and because his ancestors, the Heracleidæ, had here obtained a hospitable reception, and had vanquished the enemy of their race. Diodor. 12, 45. Marathon was supposed also to be favoured by the gods, because it had been the dwelling of Titan, who alone among the giants refrained from warring against Jupiter. Philochorus ap. Suid. in *Τιτανίδα γῆν*.



marks of truth and fidelity, though it is too brief to be satisfactory. Some additional facts we may receive from later writers without much difficulty, as having been derived from authentic tradition, although neglected by Herodotus on account of their minor importance; such are the circumstances stated by Plutarch, that the Grecian centre was composed of the tribes Antiochis and Leontis, the former of which was commanded by Aristeides, and the latter accompanied by Themistocles: that Aristeides was the first to give up the command to Miltiades, and that when the rest of the army returned to Athens, he was left on the field of battle to take care of the spoil<sup>1</sup>. We may easily give credit also to the statement of Cornelius Nepos, that the Greeks had fortified their position against the enemy's horse, by the common expedient of felling and strewing trees on the vulnerable points<sup>2</sup>; and that by these artificial means on some parts, and by the mountains on the others, their line was inaccessible to the Persian cavalry. The remark of Pausanias, that the Persians fell into the marsh and were slaughtered there in great numbers, was confirmed by an ancient picture in the Pæcile, painted not long after the battle, in which the same incident was represented; and the observation is valuable, as it is thoroughly illustrated by the scene of action, from a view of which it clearly appears that such must have been almost inevitably the result, upon an occasion when the victory was so decisive, and the field so confined in comparison with the numbers engaged. As soon as the Persian right gave way, a great part of them would naturally press through the pass at the foot of Mount Stavrokoráki, leading into the plain of Suli or *Tricorythus*; and unable to effect the passage

<sup>1</sup> Aristid. 5.

<sup>2</sup> According to Frontinus, Hippas had experienced the efficacy of this mode of defence on a former occasion. "Cleomenes Lacedæmonius adversus Hippiam Atheniensem, qui equitatu prævalebat, planitiem in quâ dimicaturus erat arboribus prostratis impedivit atque inviam equiti fecit." Stratag. 2, 2.



with sufficient rapidity, they would necessarily be driven in great numbers into the marsh.

The following are some reflections, arising from a comparison of the narrative of Herodotus with the map of Attica, and with the topographical plan of the district of Marathon, which is annexed to these remarks.

When Hippias, for the obvious reasons mentioned by Herodotus, and for others which may be inferred from the character and former history of Hippias<sup>1</sup>, made choice of the Bay of Marathon for the place of debarkation, he seems to have overlooked some less apparent obstacles to success, which in the end proved fatal to the expedition. The chief advantages of Marathon were, proximity to the part of Eubœa of which the Persians were in possession, a bay sufficiently large to contain their immense fleet, a beach admitting of an easy and speedy disembarkation, and finally, a plain large enough to enable the Persians to draw out their cavalry, and to give their horses that refreshment, which must have been necessary to them after their long confinement at sea. This, indeed, was the most important of all; for it was in great measure upon the number and superior quality of the Persian cavalry, and upon the total deficiency of the Athenians in that arm, that Hippias and the Persian commanders founded their confidence of success.

No other part of the Attic coast afforded all the facilities which have just been mentioned. But the appearance of Marathon is deceitful. Though the plain presents from the sea the appearance of an uninterrupted width of six miles; it is found upon landing to be contracted by the marshes at

<sup>1</sup> Hippias had accompanied his father, when a debarkation at Marathon had led to the reinstatement of Peisistratus in the tyranny; and he now hoped to resume under Persian protection, like the Greek tyrants of the Asiatic cities, the reins of government which he had formerly held for eighteen years, after his father's death. Assisted by Persian gold, he might confidently reckon on a party at Athens, and hence doubtless the signals alluded to by Herodotus.

either end, to a space not much greater than that of the united openings of the two valleys or branches of the plain which lead into the interior : so that it is in the power of a force drawn up before these two valleys to present almost as wide a front as that occupied by the invading army between the marshes. The invader, if defeated, has to fall back upon the shore and the marshes, while the defending force can retreat into two valleys, flanked and separated from one another by mountains inaccessible to cavalry, and in which the positions become stronger at every step, until they finally meet in one point at Stamáta, near the upper part of the plain of Athens. With such inconveniences in the plain of Marathon itself, and with such obstacles to the advance of an invading army from thence towards Athens, it would perhaps have been better for the Persians to have descended at the ports towards Sunium, notwithstanding the inconvenience, in reference to the Persian cavalry, of the barren hills which border that part of the coast. The longer passage by sea would have been of little importance at the season in which the invasion took place<sup>1</sup>; and the harbours of Prasîæ, Panormus, Sunium, and the others along that part of the coast, though each of them is small compared to the Bay of Marathon, would together have supplied sufficient accommodation to the three hundred ships of the Persians. The plain of *Mesogæa*, when they had once crossed the maritime hills, would have afforded them a much larger space for their cavalry than that of Marathon; and from thence a level road would have conducted the invaders to Athens, without a single intermediate position, in which the Athenians could have fought with any good prospect of success.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch gives the sixth Boedromion, or the beginning of September, as the date of the battle, but there are some reasons, founded on the time of the Spartan festival the Carneia, and on the circumstance of the tribe *Æantis*, which was the ninth in the order of the tribes, having taken the right in the battle, for thinking that the event occurred about three weeks earlier in the year. See Thirlwall's History of Greece, II. Appendix 3.

There are three circumstances mentioned by the ancient authorities, and already alluded to, which explain the battle, and the previous position of the Athenians. 1. The Athenian camp was in a field sacred to Hercules. 2. Their line was lengthened on the day of the action, so as to present a front equal to that of the Persians. 3. The Barbarians, on being routed, were driven to the marsh and to the ships.

As we can hardly doubt that the temenus of Hercules was in the demus of Marathon, Hercules having been the favourite deity of the Marathonii, it will follow that the Athenian camp was in the valley of Vraná; and if it be allowed that the vestiges found at the foot of Mount Argaliki are those of the *Heracleium*, we may infer that the temenus of Hercules was in the adjacent part of the valley, and that the camp of the Athenians was near the opening of that valley into the plain. Herodotus has so particularly stated that their position was in the temenus of Hercules, that we can hardly suppose that they occupied any part of the valley of Cénœ; for it is impossible to imagine that the *Heracleium* of Marathon extended so far as that valley.

Thus situated in the valley of Vraná, they were well covered from the attacks of the Persian cavalry by the trees which were strewn over the plain in their front, and by the mountains on either flank; for the hill of Kotróni, which was on their left, although not high, is extremely rugged, and would not admit of an advance of cavalry in presence of an enemy, except through the narrow passage leading from Marathóna to Vraná, in which afterwards stood the gate of Herodes; and such a narrow passage might easily have been rendered impervious to a body of cavalry.

On the day of action, the Athenians extended their line so that their front was equal to that of the Persians. But their numbers not being sufficient to occupy so long a line according to the usual dense order of the Greeks, they were under the necessity of weakening the centre, in order that



the wings should be of the proper strength. At this juncture, their position probably extended from a little in front of the *Heracleium* at the foot of Mount Argaliki to the bend of the river of Marathóna below Seféri. The Persians were eight stades in front of them, their right resting on Mount Stavrokóraki, and their left extending to the marsh of *Probalinthus*, which prevented them from having a front much greater than that of the Athenians.

When the Athenians had extended and thus weakened their line, their best hope of success was in an immediate attack. Although Herodotus tells us that they *ran* across the space of eight stades, which separated their line from the Persian front (*ἔρρόμῳ ἔειντο εἰς τοὺς Βαρβάρους*), it is difficult to believe that the whole distance was crossed at so rapid a pace as the English word expresses; for one cannot conceive that a body of heavy-armed men, however strong, and however accustomed to running, would not be rendered less efficient for an immediate close engagement by such a movement over a space of more than sixteen hundred yards: it is more probable that they began by a quick step, which may have increased in rapidity as they approached the enemy.

The centre of the Athenian line, where the tribes of Antiochis and Leontis met the Persians and Sacæ, and were defeated by them, was the point at which the Athenians suffered the greatest loss. According to the position which has just been ascribed to the two armies, this loss would have occurred precisely where we find the tumulus raised over the Athenian slain.

While the Persians and Sacæ were pursuing the Athenian centre towards the hill of Kotróni, the Persian left, after a contest, in which the Athenians lost their polemarch Callimachus, was turned, and obliged to retreat to the shore. Nearly at the same time the Persian right was also defeated, and was forced to fall back towards the narrow pass leading into the plain of *Tricorythus*. Here, terror



and the weight of their own numbers forced them into the marsh, and seem to have been the principal causes of their destruction; for we are told by Herodotus that the two Grecian wings desisted from the pursuit of the Persians opposed to them, and returned towards the middle of the field to the aid of their own centre. When they had defeated the Persians and Sacæ, before whom that centre was retreating, the confusion became general in the enemy's line, and the Athenians pursued the Persian centre, which comprised the best of their infantry, as far as the sea.

The Athenians endeavoured to set fire to the Persian ships; but they appear not to have met with much success in this attempt, for they had not captured more than seven, when Cynægeirus was slain in seizing an eighth. We may deduce from these circumstances, that one line at least of the Persian fleet<sup>1</sup> was drawn up on the beach; and this may account for the facility with which the great body of the Barbarians embarked in safety; for as soon as they arrived on the shore, they had only to leap into their ships and push off: so that while the Athenians were engaged in the slaughter and pursuit of those immediately opposed to them, great numbers of the enemy were escaping through the pass of *Macaria*, or along the sand-hills (now covered with pine-trees) which separate the great marsh from the sea, or to the shore to the southward of the marsh of *Probalinthus*. By the time the Athenians had reached the bay, and had seized the seven ships, the Persians had probably embarked in all those nearest to the shore, and thus rendered ineffectual the attempt of the Athenians to burn them, or to seize more than seven.

One of the most remarkable incidents of the battle of Marathon is, that the two parties should have remained nine days in the presence of each other without coming to action. That such was the fact is manifest from Herodo-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps one rank only was on the beach, and the others were anchored behind them.

tus, who informs us that Miltiades was the tenth commander, and that the engagement did not take place until it was his turn to command: and it is confirmed by the time of the arrival in Attica of the 2000 Lacedæmonians sent from Sparta to assist the Athenians. The Hemerodrome or foot-messenger Pheidippides, who started from Athens on the arrival of the Persians at Marathon, but before the departure of the Athenians from the city, reached Sparta in two days<sup>1</sup>, and communicated his message to the government on the ninth day of the moon. The Lacedæmonians marched after the full moon, that is to say, on the 15th day of the moon, and arrived on the third day in Attica<sup>2</sup>, when they heard of the result of the battle; but, continuing their march for the sake of gratifying their own curiosity, they arrived at Marathon on the day after the battle<sup>3</sup>, being the 18th of the moon. Hence, if we suppose the Athenians to have marched to Marathon the same day they despatched Pheidippides to Sparta, as the narrative of Herodotus appears to indicate<sup>4</sup>, it is evident that nine complete days had elapsed between the day on which the Athenians arrived in presence of the enemy and the day of battle.

<sup>1</sup> The distance by the road was 1140 stades (Plin. H. N. 7, 20) or 1200 (Isocrat. in Orat. Paneg. 24), equal to about 150 miles; which gives a rate of walking for Pheidippides of more than three miles an hour for 48 hours. Pliny adds, that Pheidippides was greatly exceeded by Anystis a Lacedæmonian, and by Philonides, the courier of Alexander the Great, both of whom ran in one day 1200 stades, from Elis to Sicyon. The Πιζοδρόμοι, or Greek foot-messengers of the present day, are not unworthy descendants of the Hemerodromes of antiquity, and sometimes perform very extraordinary journeys.

<sup>2</sup> It was impossible they should have performed the march in less than three entire days. Isocrates expressly remarks (ibid.) that they were three days and three nights on the march.

<sup>3</sup> τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς μάχης ἀφίκοντο. Plat. Menex. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὥς ἐπίθοντο ταῦτα, ἐβοήθειον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸν Μαραθῶνα . . . . . καὶ πρῶτα μὲν, λόντες ἔτι ἐν τῇ ἄστυ, οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποπίμπουσι ἐς Σπάρτην κήρυκα Φειδιππίδην, &c. Herod. 6, 103. 105.

That Miltiades should have abstained from engaging, several days after the other generals had given him the power by resigning their right of command, may be accounted for, by his wish to give time for the arrival of the Lacedæmonian succours, or perhaps by a secret jealousy lest some part of his glory in case of success should be shared by the commander on whose day he should fight; but it is not so easy to explain the inactivity of the Persians during the same time. It is even difficult to conceive how it happened, that with such numbers as ancient authors have ascribed to them, and straitened for room as they must have been in the plain of Marathon, they did not spread on every side, until they had gradually occupied all the hills around the plain, had ascertained the weakness of their adversaries, and had found the means of surrounding and attacking them on the flanks and rear. But it is clear from Herodotus that no such consequences took place; that the invaders did not even venture to penetrate into the valley of Marathóna, which was open to them; but that they remained irresolute in their maritime position, until the Athenians attacked them. Thus alone can be explained the fact, that although, according to Herodotus, it was in great measure for the sake of the cavalry that the landing was effected at Marathon, no such advantages were derived from them as occurred at Plataea, and no further mention of them is made by the historian. They neither attempted to annoy the Greeks in the Heracleium, nor acted against them on the day of battle, nor suffered on that occasion. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the space being insufficient for them in the plain of Marathon within the marshes, they were placed in some neighbouring plain, without any means of passing either those barriers or the mountains, and that on the day of action they were not even within sight of it<sup>1</sup>. In the previous

<sup>1</sup> The absence of the Persian cavalry on this occasion gave rise to the Athenian proverb, "The horsemen are away." (*Χωρίς ἵππων*. Suid.



interval they might have overrun all Attica, as Athens had then no more than 100 horsemen; but they could not have taken the walled city, and probably having no orders from their despotic commanders, they remained motionless in the cantonments assigned to them.

Nor were the Persian archers much more useful on this occasion than the cavalry. It seems surprising that these light-armed forces had not during the days previous to the battle occupied the hills overhanging the position of the Athenians, and harassed them from thence by incessant attacks. But no such use was made by the Persian commanders of these troops, who appear to have remained on board the ships or in the immediate vicinity of the shore, and on the day of action to have been little better than an embarrassment to the regular line; the far greater part of them having been too distant from the enemy to act with any effect, and those even who were nearest to the field having had time only to make a few discharges during the advance of the Athenians, whose rapid movement had the advantage of avoiding a long exposure to the distant missiles of the enemy<sup>1</sup>.

To those perhaps who have witnessed the dilatory proceedings, and the want of enterprise, and combination in the armies of Oriental nations, whose customs have been nearly the same in all ages, the result of the day of Marathon may not appear very incredible with any conceivable disproportion of forces: but when taken in union with the small dimensions of the scene of action, it may serve to support a suspicion, that the numbers of the Persians at Marathon have been greatly exaggerated.

At the end of a century after the battle, it was believed, or at least asserted by the Athenians, that half a million of

in v.) It was said that some of the Ionians mounted upon trees and made signals to the Athenians that the cavalry was absent. (*ὡς ἔλεν χωρίς οἱ ἰππεῖς*.)

<sup>1</sup> Such appears to have been the idea of Trogus Pompeius, as to the intention of the Athenian movement. "Magna igitur in pugnam euntibus alacri-



Persians had been opposed to them on this occasion. We find this statement in Plato and in Lysias<sup>1</sup>; and the numbers, thus established in popular opinion, were not likely to be diminished in after ages. In fact, it was commonly asserted in those times, that 300,000 Persians were actually destroyed at Marathon<sup>2</sup>. Trogus Pompeius added 100,000<sup>3</sup> to the half million of Plato and Lysias. The most moderate are Plutarch<sup>4</sup> and Cornelius Nepos<sup>5</sup>: according to the former, the entire armament amounted to 300,000; the latter reckoned the Persian infantry at 200,000, and their cavalry at 10,000.

Nothing can tend more strongly to excite suspicion as to the accuracy of these numbers than the silence of Herodotus, who, when confidently stating the amount of slain on either side, pretends not to enumerate the respective forces. Some estimate of the strength of the Persian host may however be derived from some circumstances mentioned by the same historian in describing this armament and that of Xerxes.

He relates that the army of Datis was conveyed from the coast of Cilicia in 600 triremes, besides *ἵππαγωγὰ πλοῖα* or horse-transports<sup>6</sup>. Now it appears, upon comparing toge-

*tas animorum fuit, adeò ut cum mille passus inter duos acies essent, citato cursu ante jactum sagittarum ad hostem venerint: nec audacie ejus eventus deficit.*" Justin. 2, 9.

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Menex. 10. Lys. Orat. funeb. p. 82, Reiske.

<sup>2</sup> Pausan. Messen. 25. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Justin. 2, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch. Paral. Gr. et Rom. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Corn. Nep. Miltiad. 5.

<sup>6</sup> . . . . αἱ ἵππαγωγοὶ νέες . . . . . Ἐσβαλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἵππους εἰς ταύτας, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐσβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰς νέας, ἐπλεον ἐξακοσίῃσι τριήρεσι εἰς τὴν Ἰωνίην. Herodot. 6, 95. Plato (Menex. 10) seems to say, that there were 300 ships, besides those which brought the army: Δαρῖος . . . πέμψας μυριάδας μὲν πεντήκοντα ἐν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναῦσι, ναῦς τε τριακοσίας, Δάτιν τε ἄρχοντα, &c. But his numbers, even if they were more precise, would not be worth any consideration, compared with those of Herodotus, who clearly indicates two kinds of ships only; those which received the horses, and the triremes in which the infantry was embarked. The word ναῦς, when used by the Greek historians without any other designation, always means a trireme.

ther several other passages in his history, that the Asiatics in the service of Persia made use of nearly the same kind of vessels as the Greeks, which indeed is sufficiently indicated by the expressions trireme, penteconter, and vessels of thirty oars, applied indiscriminately by Herodotus to the Greek and Barbarian ships<sup>1</sup>. The penteconter, which had a single row of oars, was rowed, as the name indicates, by fifty men; the trireme, which had three ranges of oars, by 150<sup>2</sup>. In each trireme of the fleet of Xerxes there were thirty select Persians, in addition to the 150 rowers and fifty combatants of the people to whom the vessel belonged, and who were dressed and armed according to the custom of their respective nations<sup>3</sup>.

The expedition of Datis, however, differed in its circumstances from that of Xerxes, as well as from that of Mardonius<sup>4</sup>: in these the main body of the forces marched by land, and the thirty chosen men were placed in each ship of the fleet of Xerxes, according to a practice common both to Greeks and Persians, when their ships sailed with the expectation of coming to action, whereas Datis and Artaphernes, having to convey all their army by sea, would naturally place in each ship as many of their best troops as possible. We find however that the Greeks never embarked more than fifty land soldiers on board a trireme, even when intending to land upon an enemy's coast<sup>5</sup>; it is probable therefore

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 89, 184.

<sup>2</sup> See Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres, xxxviii. p. 578.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 7, 96, 184.

<sup>4</sup> Three hundred ships and more than 20,000 men of the expedition of Mardonius perished in doubling Mount Athos (Herodot. 6, 44). If these ships were triremes, and manned like those of Xerxes, five-sevenths of those embarked in them escaped to the shore.

<sup>5</sup> In the Chian vessels which fought the Persians in the Ionic insurrection against Dareius, forty of their best land troops were embarked as epibatae in each trireme (Herodot. 6, 15). In the expedition of the Corinthians against the Corcyraei, four years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, 2000 hoplitae were embarked in seventy-five ships (Thucyd.

that the vessels were not capable of containing a greater number beyond their complement of 200. Admitting fifty to have been embarked in each of the triremes of Datis, there will result a total of about 30,000 for the whole fleet. These were probably for the most part Persians, Sacæ, or such other forces of the interior parts of the empire, as were best fitted by their armour and appointments for close combat.

As to the light troops, we may reckon under this head the entire complement of rowers in the triremes and horse- transports, all of whom were supplied by the maritime states subject to Dareius<sup>1</sup>; for Herodotus in describing the armament of Xerxes, reckons the whole amount of the ships' companies among the τὸ μάχιμον, or fighting part of the expedition<sup>2</sup>; whence it may be inferred that the greater part of them, if not all, were archers, according to the practice of the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war<sup>3</sup>. The total amount of the rowers of the whole

1, 29). The first armament sent against Potidæa, in the year preceding the first year of the Peloponnesian war, consisted of 1000 hoplitæ in thirty ships (Thucyd. 1, 57). Soon after which were sent 2000 hoplitæ in forty ships (Thucyd. 1, 61). In the expedition to the coasts of the Peloponnesus, under Pericles, in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, 4000 hoplitæ were embarked in 100 ships, and 300 horse in cavalry transports (Thucyd. 2, 56). In another expedition, commanded by Nicias, in the seventh year, 2000 hoplitæ were embarked in eighty ships, and 200 cavalry in transports. (Thucyd. 4, 42.)

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 6, 48. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 184 seq.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . . ἱκίται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῃ πεντήκοντα

Ἐμβέβασαν, τόξων εὖ εἰδότες.

Hom. Il. B. 720.

In like manner Æschylus, in the beginning of the Persæ, describing the several nations in the armament of Xerxes, says, "The wealthy Babylon sends forth a miscellaneous multitude, skilled in ships and in the art of drawing the bow."

Βαβυλῶν

Δ' ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον

Πέμπει σύρδην, ναῶν τ' ἐπόχους

Καὶ τοξουλκῶ λήματι πιστούς.

Pers. 52.

From Thucydides, who in his first book has given us the most authentic

armament, therefore, will represent the strength of the light troops. Of the amount of cavalry we have no means of judging; but considering on the one hand the difficulty of conveying a great number of horses to so great a distance, and on the other the high proportion of cavalry in Oriental armies, and the hope of success derived by the Persians from their superiority over the Greeks in this arm, we may not be very far from the truth, in stating them at something more than a tenth of the regular infantry<sup>1</sup>, or between three and four thousand, with an attendant to each. These seven thousand would probably require not less than three hundred cavalry transports.

The nominal strength of the armament at its outset may be computed, therefore, nearly as follows :

Regular infantry, 50 in each of the 600 triremes	30,000
Cavalry . . . . .	7,000
Rowers of 600 triremes, who were also archers	
on shore . . . . .	90,000
Seamen of the triremes . . . . .	30,000
Seamen of the cavalry transports . . . . .	20,000
	<hr/>
	177,000

account extant of the progress of nautical affairs among the Greeks, it appears that the Corinthians constructed the first triremes about 300 years before the Peloponnesian war; but so tardy was the advancement of those states which afterwards became the leading naval powers, that it was not until a short time before the Persian war that the Athenians had any triremes; and they were not completely decked even at the battle of Salamis. When the Greek navies were brought to perfection, there were distinct classes of rowers (*ῥῆται* or *κοπηλάται*), of marines (*ἐπιβάται*), and of navigators (*ναῦται*). In the triremes the three classes of rowers were named according to the upper, middle, and lower ranges of their oars; and the *ναῦται* were divided into *ἀρμενισται*, sailors, *σχοινοβάται*, men to manage the sails, to mount the ropes, &c. But at the time of the Persian war these refinements were not yet in use even among the most skilful of the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> In the maritime as well as the terrestrial expeditions of the Greeks, when their armies were most regular, a tenth was the ordinary proportion of cavalry hoplitæ.



It is curious that this calculation of the entire force of the Persian armament is not much short of the number which an epigram, attached to the picture of the Battle of Marathon in the *Pœcile*<sup>1</sup>, asserts to have been slain at Marathon. The picture was painted about forty years after the battle, but the epigram may have been of much later date. The Persians killed are there stated at twenty myriads. Now as we know from Herodotus that the Barbarians who fell were not so many as 7000, it becomes a natural suspicion, that, between the date of the battle and that of the epigram, Athenian vanity had confounded the whole amount of the Persian forces with the numbers slain.

If we are warranted in reckoning the Persian host at about 177,000 on its departure from Asia, we shall be equally so in allowing a considerable diminution for those deficiencies which occur in all distant military expeditions by sea, and from which an armament collected from a great number of distant states (some of them not in a condition of the strictest obedience to the court of Susa) would assuredly not be exempt. Deducting from the strength of the regular infantry and cavalry, for a want of complement at the outset, for desertion, sickness, accidents to ships, disabled horses, and garrisons at Naxos, Eretria, and other places in the way, we may estimate the Persians in the field at Marathon at about 26,000 regular infantry, and 3000 cavalry, each horseman having his attendant, and to this number we may add as many light archers as the space of ground could contain.

It is remarkable that we have no evidence as to the number of Greeks engaged at Marathon, of an earlier date than the time of the Roman empire; Pausanias, Plutarch, and

<sup>1</sup> Ποικίλη· στοὰ ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐνθα ἐγράφησαν οἱ ἐν Μαραθῶνι πολέμηςαντες· εἰς οὗς ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα τὸδε·

Ἑλλήνων προμαχοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι

ἔκτειναν Μήδων εἴκοσι μυριάδας.—Suidas in Ποικίλῃ.

Cornelius Nepos, reckon the Athenians at 9000<sup>1</sup>. Nepos and Justin agree that there were 1000 Platæenses : but Justin states the Athenians to have amounted to 10,000, excluding the troops of Plataea.

There can be little doubt that these 10,000 men were all hoplitæ ; for it was customary among the Greeks to mention only the heavy-armed, unless when any details of the different forces were necessary ; and we cannot suppose that the Athenians, naturally desirous of rating their own numbers as low as possible, would have included the light-armed upon an occasion when, the affair having been decided by a close combat, the light troops could not have greatly contributed to the victory. To these 10,000, therefore, we may add as many more for light troops, according to the usual Greek custom : this proportion was particularly exemplified not long afterwards at Plataea, where the light-armed and hoplitæ were in equal numbers in the contingents of every people of Greece except the Spartans, each of whom was followed by seven light-armed Helots.

It has been supposed that the Athenian forces at the battle of Marathon have been much underrated : but the true strength of the republic at this period was too well known in after ages, to allow the Athenians to indulge their vanity by the diminution of their own numbers, so easily as by exaggerating those of the Persians ; and we have evidence that the armies of the states of European Greece were not very strong at this time. The whole military establishment of Plataea consisted of no more than 1000 heavy-armed at the time of the battle of Marathon<sup>2</sup>, and Sparta could only spare 2000 on that occasion. Upwards of twenty years after the battle of Plataea, the Athenians could not collect more

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. Messen. 25, 2. Phocic. 20, 2. Plutarch. Paral. 1. Corn. Nep. Miltiad. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ τεταγμένοιαι ἐν τεμένει Ἡρακλῆος, ἐπὶ ἄλθον βοηθῶντες Πλαταιέες πανδημί. Herodot. 6, 108.

than 14,000 to oppose the Lacedæmonians and Bœotians at Tanagra; and in this number were included 1000 Argives and other allies<sup>1</sup>. At the battle of Plataea, where the half of Greece assembled its forces, the hoplitæ did not altogether amount to 39,000<sup>2</sup>. Plataea could then only turn out 600 hoplitæ, and Athens no more than 8000, though the action was fought on the frontiers, and in a district which politically formed a part of Attica<sup>3</sup>.

At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war the Athenian hoplitæ had increased to near 30,000: but sixty years had then elapsed from the time of the battle of Marathon, during which period the Athenians had made an extraordinary progress in riches, population, and military power; and, by means of the treasure of a great part of Greece, had just placed their army on an establishment suited to a contest, which was expected to be both long and severe, and for which preparations were every where made upon a much larger scale than Greece had yet seen<sup>4</sup>. In every view of the question, therefore, there is nothing to invalidate the truth of the Athenian numbers at Marathon, as transmitted by the writers of the time of the Roman empire.

To return to the circumstances of the battle. When the

<sup>1</sup> . . . ἐβοήθησαν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτούς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημί καὶ Ἀργείων χίλιοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων ὥς ἕκαστοι· ἑξήπαντες δὲ ἐγένοντο τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι. Thucyd. 1, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 9, 8, seq.

<sup>3</sup> The Athenian and Platæan forces had been much reduced at that time by the effects of the war, and the hoplitæ of Athens in particular by the number required to serve on board of the Athenian ships. If Plutarch is to be relied on, there were 14 hoplitæ in each of the 110 Athenian triremes at Salamis. When the battle of Plataea was fought, the fleet was still employed on active service; for the naval action at Mycale was fought on the same day as that of Plataea. We may suppose, therefore, that at least 2000 Athenian hoplitæ were absent from Plataea from this cause alone. Herodot. 9, 100. The Platæenses had no ships; they served on board of the Athenian ships at Artemisium, but not at Salamis. Demosthenes is contradicted in this respect by the better authority of Herodotus. V. Herodot. 8, 1. 44. Demosth. cont. Neer. p. 1377. Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> Thucyd. 1, 1.



day of the command of Miltiades arrived, he ordered the army to move from the valley of Vraná, and took up a new position across the plain, from the foot of Mount Argaliki to that of Mount Koráki; for in this manner only could he secure his flanks after he had ventured into the plain. But this position, which was two miles in length, was too extended for 10,000 men, who, allowing to each man a space of two feet, could not have been more than two files in depth. This was very different from the dense order to which the Greeks were accustomed; but it was almost sufficient for the enemy to whom they were opposed; for, according to the institutions of the elder Cyrus, four was the utmost depth of file considered useful among the Persians<sup>1</sup>, and the Athenian light armed, although they might not be equal to a close contest with the best of the Persian infantry, would at least give an appearance of depth to the Athenian line. The most essential requisite in the new position was, that the flanks should not be turned by the enemy, of which, notwithstanding the protection of the steep and rugged mountains at the extremities of the line, the inadequacy of the force must have left no small apprehension. Miltiades, therefore, adopted the bold measure of weakening his centre to strengthen his wings. The consequence was, that although his centre was unable to make any impression upon the adverse part of the enemy's line, which contained the choicest of their infantry, but was under the necessity of retreating, covered probably by the light armed, the heavier wings fell with resistless effect, at the end of their rapid advance upon the right and left of the Persians, whose scimetars, javelins, and daggers, small crescent-shaped shields, loose trousers, soft

<sup>1</sup> In the front Cyrus placed those whom Xenophon calls *θωρακηφόροι*, who were armed with cuirasses, swords, and shields; next were the *ἀκοντίσται*, armed with javelins, then the archers (*τοξόται*); and lastly the *τελευταῖοι*, whose principal office it was to keep the others to their duty, and who seem to have been armed nearly as the front rank (Cyropæd. 6, 3. § 11).

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 9, 22. Plutarch. Aristid.



caps, and light armour<sup>1</sup>, could not withstand the long spears and short straight swords of the Greeks, covered as their

<sup>1</sup> In a speech of Aristagoras of Miletus to Cleomenes king of Sparta, the intention of which was to lower the military prowess of the Persians, with the view of inducing the Lacedæmonians to undertake an expedition into Asia, the Persian soldier is described as armed with a bow and a short javelin, and as dressed in trousers and a bonnet, called tiara by the Persians, and by the Greeks *κυρβασία* (literally, the crest of a cock). "*Ἡ τε μάχη αὐτίων ἐστὶ τοιήδε· τόξα καὶ αἶχμη βραχία· ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἔχοντες ἱρχονται ἐς τὰς μάχας, καὶ κυρβασίας ἐπὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· οὕτως εὐπερίεις χειρωθῆναι εἰσι.*" Herodot. 5, 49. The historian tells us in another place (3, 12) that the wearing of these bonnets caused the skulls of the Persians to be very thin compared with those of the Egyptians, who went bareheaded and often shaved their heads. The Persians, properly so called, are described by Herodotus as protected by a cuirass with iron scales, and by wooden shields, very small and light compared with the large strong Greek bucklers: their arms were a quiver, large bows, arrows of reed, short javelins, and daggers suspended from a belt upon the right thigh. *Πέρσαι μὲν ὥδε ἰσκινασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους, πῖλους ἀπαγίας· περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὄψιν ἰχθυοειδούς· περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλια ἀναξυρίδας· ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων, γέρρα· ὑπὸ ἑῇ, φαριτριῶντες ἐκρίμαντο· αἶχμὰς δὲ βραχίας ἔχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα, δίστους δὲ καλαμίνους· πρὸς δὲ, ἰγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωριόμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.* Herodot. 7, 61. The Sacæ, who with the Persians formed the flower of the regular infantry, and who occupied with them the centre of the line at Marathon, differed only in having caps of a pointed form, and bows of a particular kind, and in being armed with hatchets, called *Sagareis*, such as the Amazons are said to have used (Xenophon, *Anab.* 4, 4, § 10). *Σάκαι δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὃξδ' ἀπιγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγνίας, ἀναξυρίδας δὲ ἐνδεύκεσαν· τόξα δὲ ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἰγχειρίδια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀξίνας σαγάρεις εἶχον.* Herodot. 7, 64. It is curious that in the description given by Herodotus, in his seventh book, of the dress and armour of the several nations which formed the army of Xerxes, none are said to have worn swords, except the Egyptians and Cilicians, who served by sea; but many were armed with daggers. In like manner, we find daggers, and no swords, on the sculptures of Persepolis, which were nearly, if not exactly, cotemporary with Darius and Xerxes. At a somewhat later period, however, according to Xenophon, the regular Persian infantry were armed with *μάχαιραι* or *κοπίδες*, which were slightly curved; the *ἀκινάκης* or scimitar, also was then in use: in the time of the Persian invasion, it was not worn perhaps by any but persons of high rank; for we find Xerxes offering one as a sacrifice to the sun, by throwing it, together with a golden

<sup>2</sup> On this passage see Schweighæuser's *Herodotus* (Var. Lect. p. 106), and a description of these *θώρακες* in *Heliodorus* (*Æthiop.* 9, 15).

bodies were by a vast round shield and by cuirasses, greaves, and helmets. As soon as the wings of the Persians were broken, and the Athenian centre had rallied, and had assisted in defeating the opponents, before whom they had previously been retreating, the confusion became extreme among men never well united by discipline, and their immense numbers contributed only to their destruction.

If these considerations appear to diminish the difficulty of the Athenian exploit, they will not detract from the glory of the Athenians; our rational admiration of whom can only be founded upon the reflection that the battle of Marathon is not a fable, but a fact related by an authentic and cotemporary historian, whose account of it ought to appear consistent and probable, upon an examination of the ground where the battle was fought.

Although the result is in great measure to be attributed to the peculiar conformation of the scene of action, the concurrence of other circumstances was also required. Without the accidental union of such men as Miltiades and Aristeides, the vices of the republican rules of Athenian command could not have been corrected; nor could Miltiades without the natural advantages of the site have realized the hopes, which he derived in the first instance from the evident irresolution of his opponents, and from his knowledge of their embarrassed position, and of their inferiority in armour and discipline, which combined in justifying an attack upon their immense numbers, by means of a movement which rendered their archers of little benefit to them, and even reduced the available portion of their regular infantry to an equality with his own. The real glory of the Athenians consists in their having, with no very strict discipline or habits of obedience, given willing execution to the wise conceptions of their chief, and in having

cup, into the Hellespont (Herodot. 7, 54). The *θώρακες* were adopted from the Egyptians (Herodot. 1, 135). The crescent-shaped shields [*γέφυρα*] and the trousers [*ἀναξυρίδες*] of the Persians are to be seen on the frieze of the Temple of Victory, which represents the battle of Marathon, now in the British Museum.

not only faced, but attacked without waiting for the reinforcements known to be on the road, the very superior numbers of a nation whom the Greeks had never yet contemplated without fear,—thus acquiring for a small republic, not 1000 square miles in extent<sup>1</sup>, with a poor navy, and a poorer cavalry, the credit of having overthrown an expedition, sent forth by an empire which in little more than half a century had subdued all the surrounding nations, had subjugated the most populous and civilized kingdom of the ancient world, had in the course of a few years annexed to itself all the western part of Asia, including the Greek colonies, and had already, by its threats or negotiations, brought over a great part of Greece itself to assist in its attempt to conquer Europe.

<sup>1</sup> . . . . πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνίσχοντο ἰσθμιά τε Μηδικὴν ὁρίωντες, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ταύτην ἰσθημένους· τίως δὲ ἦν τοῖσι "Ελλῆσι καὶ τὸ οὔνομα τὸ Μήδων φόβος ἀκοῦσαι. Herodot. 6, 112.

## APPENDIX II.

### THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS.

Of the several accounts of this event preserved in ancient history, those of *Æschylus* and *Herodotus* are particularly deserving of attention. The poet was himself engaged in the action ; and *Herodotus*, although only an infant at the time of the event, had the advantage of collecting the facts from persons who were present, and from a comparison of whose evidence he formed his narrative, with his usual candour, judgment, and anxiety for the truth.

The description of *Æschylus*, although conveyed in the language of poetry, contains, when stripped of this ornamental clothing, the plain recital of an eye-witness ; but as it is necessarily very brief, we must have recourse to *Herodotus* for those previous events which prepared the great result, and which are necessary as well to explain the narrative of the poet and historian, as to confirm the truth and consistency of their details.

The preparations for the conquest of Greece, which *Darius* after the defeat of his forces at *Marathon* had renewed on a still larger scale, were suspended, or rather applied to a different purpose, by the revolt of *Egypt* ; and it was not until after the reduction of that country in the second year of the reign of *Xerxes*, and until he had con-



sumed the three subsequent years in the completion of his equipments, that Xerxes set out from Susa in the spring of the ninth year after the battle of Marathon<sup>1</sup>.

The most formidable part of the previous measures of the Persian court had been a treaty of co-operation with the Carthaginians, who invaded Sicily with 200 ships and an immense body of land forces, but who were defeated by the Greeks under Gelo, in the same summer which proved fatal to the Persians at Salamis.

In order to facilitate the passage of the army from Asia into Greece, provisions were transported from every part of Asia, in Ægyptian and Phœnician ships, to four places in Europe, where the chief magazines were established. These places were Tyrodiza on the Propontis near the Hellespont, Doriscus near the mouth of the Hebrus, Eion at the mouth of the Strymon, and a fourth place in Macedonia, probably on the Axeius<sup>1</sup>.

A second important preparation, and which appears to have been consigned to the same two maritime people, as being more skilful in mechanical arts than any of the other subjects of Xerxes, was the formation of floating bridges over the Hellespont and Strymon. Such operations are of common occurrence, and generally found necessary in all extensive military movements; but the bridging of the Hellespont was an undertaking proportioned to the gigantic armament, and, besides its immediate utility in transporting the army into Europe, had in view the possibility of a retreat under a deficiency of naval resources.

A double bridge was found necessary. The point fixed upon for the work was the narrowest part of the strait, where a projecting rocky coast, called the Tracheia, lying on the southern side of the European town of Sestus, was separated by a channel of seven stades in breadth from a cape of the Asiatic coast, which was occupied by the city

<sup>1</sup> B. C. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 25.

of Abydos<sup>1</sup>. The first attempt failed: a tempest carried away the two bridges, and the engineers were beheaded by order of Xerxes.



Three hundred and sixty triremes and penteconters were then attached together to form a bridge towards the Propontis, and three hundred and fourteen to form another towards the Ægean Sea. These vessels were placed obliquely towards the Propontis (or towards the Euxine, according to the expression of Herodotus), but directly with regard to the current of the Hellespont<sup>2</sup>. When the ships had been thus connected, anchors were thrown out to a

<sup>1</sup> Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, Σηστοῦ τε πόλιος μεταξὺ καὶ Μαδύτου, ἀκτὴ τραχὺία ἐς θάλασσαν κατήκουσα, Ἀβύδῳ καταντίον. Herod. 7, 33. Ἔστι δὲ ἐπτά στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπαντίον. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξείγνυσαν δὲ ὧδε πεντηκοντίρους καὶ τριήρεις συνθέντες, ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα καὶ τριηκοσίας, τοῦ μὲν Πόντου ἐπικαρσίας, τοῦ δὲ Ἑλ-

considerable distance in both directions, and passages were left in three places for small vessels, entering into or coming out from the Propontis. When this work was finished, cables were stretched across the strait, and kept in proper tension by means of capstans (ὄνοισι ξυλίνοισι<sup>1</sup>) on the shore: thick pieces of wood, as long as the breadth of the bridge, were then placed upon the cables, and fastened together, and planks were laid upon them. The planks were covered with earth, the earth was levelled, and a barrier was built on each side, lest the horses and beasts of burthen should be frightened at the sight of the sea. The

λησπόντου κατὰ ῥόον, ἵνα ἀνακωχέῃ τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀπλων. συνθέντες δὲ, ἀγκύρας κατῆκον περιμήκειας, τὰς μὲν πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης, τῶν ἀνίμων εἵνεκεν τῶν ἰσωθεν ἐκπνιόντων, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης τῆς πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε καὶ τοῦ Αἰγαίου, εὗρου τε καὶ νότου εἵνεκα. Herodot. 7, 36. Larcher has thus translated a part of this passage: "Les premiers présentoient le flanc au Pont Euxin, et les autres du côté de l'Hellespont répondoient au courant de l'eau, afin de tenir les cordages plus tendus." But presuming that after ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν the word γεφύρην is to be understood, and after πρὸς τοῦ Πόντου τῆς ἐτέρης, the word γεφύρης, it seems evident that Herodotus intended to say that all the vessels in both bridges were oblique to the Propontis, as well as direct to the current. Beloe has translated from Larcher, and Rennell has trusted to Beloe. See Geog. Syst. of Herodotus, sect. 6.

<sup>1</sup> "They did not make use of single cords," adds Herodotus, "as they had done the first time, but twisted together two of white flax to make a rope, and four of byblus. These cables were equally fine and of equal thickness; but those of flax were stronger, and each cubit of them weighed a talent. The Egyptians supplied the bybline ropes, and the Phœnicians the flaxen." The byblus of Herodotus was the rush with a triangular stem, called by botanists *Cyperus Papyrus*. In Egypt, where wood is scarce, the root of the byblus served both for fuel and carpentry; the lower part of the stem was eaten, either raw or cooked: of the *liber* or inner bark were made writing-paper, ropes, sails, mats, shoes, and a great variety of articles of domestic use (Herodot. 2, 37. 92. 96. 5, 58. 7, 34. 36); it served, in short, nearly the same variety of purposes, as among the modern Egyptians the date-tree, which by the silence of Herodotus would seem not to have been very common in his time, at least in lower Egypt. On the other hand the byblus, which was then cultivated in great abundance, and cut down every year, is now with difficulty found in any part of the country.

infantry and cavalry passed over the upper bridge, or that which was towards the Propontis; the beasts of burthen and servants over the lower, which was towards the Ægean.

It is possible that the Hellespont has undergone some change since the time of Xerxes. No mention is made by ancient authors of any strait but that of Abydos; that town is described as the customary and most commodious point of communication between the two continents, and the channel near it is generally represented as having been seven stades in breadth<sup>1</sup>. At present the common passage between the opposite shores is not at Abydos (vestiges of which city are still extant), but at the castles of the Dardanelles, of which the Asiatic stands at the mouth of the Rhodius, and the European upon the cape anciently called Cynossema<sup>2</sup>. The strait

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, p. 124. 591. Pliny twice states seven stades to have been the breadth (4, 11 (18), 12 (24), and in another place (6, 1), 875 Roman paces, which is the equivalent of seven stades, at 600 Greek feet to the stade. In Polybius (16, 29) *δυοῖν* must be an error of the text. Xenophon (Hellen. 4, 8), gives "not more than eight stades," as the distance between the towns of Sestus and Abydos, but meaning evidently the narrowest part of the strait (*Σηστὸν καταντικρὺ ὄντα, Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλείον ὀκτώ σταδίων*. Hellen. 4, 8, § 5). The following is correct when applied to the places, except in the distance of seven stades: *Ἀβυδος . . . . ἐπικείται δὲ τῷ στόματι τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου . . . ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπταστάδιον, ὅπερ ἔξευξεν ὁ Ξέρξης, τὸ διορίζον τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν. Καλεῖται δ' ἡ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐρώπης Χερρόνησος διὰ τὸ σχῆμα, ἡ ποιοῦσα τὰ στενὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸ ζεύγμα ἀντίκειται δὲ τὸ ζεύγμα τῇ Ἀβύδῳ . . . . Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἀβυδος καὶ ἡ Σηστός διέχουσιν ἀλλήλων τριάκοντά που σταδίους ἐκ λιμένος εἰς λιμένα· τὸ δὲ ζεύγμά ἐστι μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παραλλάξαντι, ἐξ Ἀβύδου μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Προποντίδα, ἐκ δὲ Σηστοῦ εἰς τοῦναντίον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ πρὸς τῇ Σηστῇ τύπος Ἀποβάθρα, καθ' ὃν ἐξεύγνυτο ἡ σχεδία. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Σηστός ἐνδοτέρω κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα ὑπερδίοξις τοῦ ῥοῦ τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῆς*. Strabo, p. 591.

<sup>2</sup> Ἔστι τοίνυν μετ' Ἀβυδὸν ἡ τε Δαρδανίς ἄκρα, ἥς μικρῷ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡ Δάρδανος, διέχουσα τῆς Ἀβύδου ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους. Μεταξὺ δὲ ὁ Ῥοδῖος ἐκπίπτει ποταμὸς, καθ' ὃν ἐν τῇ Χερρόνησῳ τὸ Κυνὸς σῆμά ἐστιν, ὃ φασιν Ἑκάβης εἶναι τάφον. Strabo, p. 595. The tomb of Hecuba here intended by Strabo seems to be that conspicuous tumulus which is seen on the height above Kelid-ud-bahr, as the town and



in this place is as narrow, if not narrower, than the Zeugma or channel of Abydus; and both of them are more than nine stades in breadth. There is no great difficulty, however, in believing, that the violent action of the current which here issues from the Propontis, combined with the effect of the rivers in depositing earth at their mouths, of which we have so remarkable an example in the neighbouring Scamander, may have been continually causing some change in the coast-line; and that a part of the low point of Abydus may have been carried away during the twenty-three centuries that have elapsed since the Persian invasion, while the river Rhodius, aided perhaps by the counter-currents, which are very strong in some parts of the coast, may have caused a protrusion of the shore opposite to the Cynossema.

The oblique position of the vessels with respect to the Propontis, as described by the historian, may be accounted for by the sudden bending of the strait at Abydus, which causes the current of the Propontis to be thrown by the point of Abydus upon the Tracheia, from whence it is deflected at a large angle towards the Dardanelles. It is evident that the obliquity at the upper bridge would be still greater, on the supposition that this bridge was carried not directly across, but from the point of Abydus to the entrance of the harbour of Sestus. That such was really its position, is rendered likely by the great excess in the number of ships forming the upper bridge, over those in the lower; as well as by the remark of Strabo, that the termination of the bridge was at a place called Apobathra, near Sestus. If we suppose the lower bridge to have been precisely at the narrowest opening, and its length to have been seven stades, we shall have about thirteen feet for the average

fortress at the upper European castle are called by the Turks. The arguments for placing Sestus, Abydus, and Cynossema, have been long since well stated by Pococke, *Travels*, II. part 2, p. 103.

breadth of the vessels, and a difference of about 600 feet in the length of the two bridges.

As to the construction of the bridges, it differed in little or nothing from that of similar works at the present day. Besides the moorings and lateral fastenings of the vessels which formed the four divisions of each bridge into compact bodies, there were several larger anchors thrown out to a greater distance, to guard against the effects of a gale in either direction.

The third measure taken to facilitate the passage of the armament of Xerxes into Greece, was the formation of a canal through the isthmus which connects the peninsula of Acte or Mount Athos with the adjacent part of the Thracian Chalcidice. This undertaking was suggested by the damage which Mardonius had suffered in circumnavigating Mount Athos in his first expedition in the reign of Dareius; and although doubts were thrown upon the truth of this preparatory operation of Xerxes, by the Romans, who were very ignorant of Greek history<sup>1</sup>, an examination of the spot not only shows that it was easy and useful, but that a canal has actually existed there. It is true that Herodotus ascribed the work to ostentation, and thought it would have been less difficult to have dragged the fleet over the Isthmus<sup>2</sup>; but this judgment of the historian may in some measure have been caused by the inexperience of the Greeks in the use of canals. The length of the Isthmus being little more than an English mile, and the ground a hollow of alluvial soil from the one gulf to the other, the construction of a canal in this place was as easy by means of the hands which Xerxes had at his command, as it promised to be useful in obviating the delays and dangers which could not

<sup>1</sup> The fact is attested by Thucydides (4, 109), and is alluded to by Plato (*de Leg.* 3, 14), and other later Greek authors.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 24.

fail during a great part of the year, to attend such a numerous fleet in its passage round Mount Athos. In executing the work, such was the awkwardness of those employed, that none but the Phœnicians thought of giving the necessary slope to the sides of the trench: all the others excavated it perpendicularly, or at least without a sufficient inclination, so that the earth fell in as they proceeded. Had any of the workmen been from Egypt or from Babylon, countries abounding in canals, such a blunder could hardly have occurred. We are told by the historian, that the undertaking occupied the greater part of three years, during which a relief of workmen sailed periodically to Acte from Eleus in the Chersonesus. The work was under the direction of two Persians of high rank; and its dilatory progress may be ascribed in part to the relaxation to which the orders of a despot are liable, when executed at a distance by men who are moved only by the impulse of the whip. Nothing seems to have made a deeper impression upon the high-minded historian than this part of the Persian manners. Whether they were fighting, or marching, or working, Herodotus tells us repeatedly that it was all done under the lash.

The place of assembly to which Xerxes repaired on quitting Susa was Critalla in Cappadocia, where he met all the forces of the eastern and southern provinces of his empire. After passing the Halys, the army directed its march not by the straight road to Sardeis, the next place of assembly, but to the south-eastward, towards the sources of the Mæander. This road was probably chosen in order to avoid the salt country and the waterless plains lying between the Halys and Phrygia Epictetus<sup>1</sup>. Having visited Celænæ and Colossæ, Xerxes crossed the Mæander into Lydia, and arrived at Sardeis, in the plain around which city the army passed the winter, while the ships collected from all the

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 26.



maritime countries subject to Persia were assembled on the neighbouring coast of Æolis.

In the beginning of the ensuing spring <sup>1</sup> (of the year B. C. 480) the army moved to the bridges over the Hellespont at Abydos: here Xerxes first came in sight of his fleet, and here he witnessed an imitation of a sea-fight, in which the vessels of Sidon were made to gain the victory. The army crossed the bridges in seven days, but did not prosecute its march till three weeks afterwards<sup>2</sup>. Being under the necessity of passing round the head of the gulf of Ænus by the isthmus of Cardia, they moved at first (as Herodotus remarks) in a direction opposite to that of the fleet, when the latter sailed westward out of the Hellespont. The sea and land forces met again at Doriscus, in a large plain near the mouth of the Hebrus, where, since the reduction of this part of Thrace by Dareius, a Persian fortress had been constructed. Here the ships were stranded until Xerxes had reviewed the army, and ascertained its numerical force. The fleet was then launched and anchored along the coast at a distance of four plethra (400 feet); after which Xerxes, on board a Sidonian vessel, which he was accustomed to prefer when he had occasion to embark<sup>3</sup>, passed along the whole line between the prows of the ships and the shore, asking questions, and directing his secretaries to write down the answers.

At this review the triremes amounted to 1207: the other ships, consisting of vessels of fifty oars, of vessels of thirty oars, of ships called Cercura<sup>4</sup>, of horse-transports, and of long vessels for bridges<sup>5</sup>, were about 3000 in number. Of

<sup>1</sup> . . . ἄμα τῇ ἱαρί. Herodot. 7, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 56. 8, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 7, 128.

<sup>4</sup> Long vessels of Cyprian construction. Plin. Hist. Nat. 7, 56 (57).

<sup>5</sup> . . . ἐς τὰς γαφύρας μακρὰς νῆας (Herodot. 7, 21). Probably triremes not in a state of equipment for war; like those of which the bridge over the Hellespont was constructed. See above, p. 220, n. 2.



the 1207 triremes, Phœnicia and Palestine sent 300, Egypt 200, Cyprus 150, Cilicia 100, Pamphylia 30, Lycia 50, Caria 70 : of the Greek provinces of Asia, Doris sent 30, Ionia 100, the Ionian islands 17, Æolis 60, and the Greek cities of the Asiatic coast of the Euxine, Propontis, and Hellespont, 100<sup>1</sup>. From the latter was excepted Abydus ;

<sup>1</sup> *Νησιῶται δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα παρείχοντο νῆας, ὡπλισμένοι ὡς Ἕλληνες· καὶ τοῦτο Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ὕστερον δὲ Ἴωνικὸν ἐκλήθη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ αἱ δωκαίδεκα πόλεις Ἴωνες οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, &c.* Herod. 7, 95. There is some difficulty in understanding who these Ionian islanders were. Andrus and Tenus did not join the Persians till after the battle of Thermopylæ. The other principal Ionian islands, Ceus, Naxos, Siphnus, Seriphus, Cythnus, were, together with the Doric island of Melus, on the side of the Greeks, and their contingents at Salamis are mentioned hereafter. Nor could Herodotus have meant Samus and Chius, as these were included in the twelve cities of Ionia, and were even far above them all, except Miletum, in naval importance, as appears by a comparison of the number of ships in the fleet at Lade, in the Ionian revolt against Darius (Herodot. 6, 8), when Miletum had 80 triremes, Samus 60, Chius 100, Priene 12, Myus 3, Teus 17, Erythræ 3, Phocæa 8. We cannot suppose, therefore, that the continental cities of Ionia sent 100 ships to the fleet of Xerxes, while Samus and Chius contributed only 17. Indeed, Diodorus (11, 3), though he differs in several details from Herodotus, states the Ionian ships under Xerxes at 100, as Herodotus does ; and he expressly adds, that those of Chius and Samus were included.

The Ionian islands here noticed, but not named by Herodotus, were probably Lemnus and Imbrus ; for he says, that the islands which he alludes to were once possessed by the Pelasgi ; and Lemnus and Imbrus are the only two islands of the Ægean which the historian elsewhere states to have been inhabited by that people (Herodot. 5, 26. 6, 137) ; although from other authors it appears that the Pelasgi also occupied Lesbos, a part of Crete, and some of the Cyclades (Homer, *Od.* T. 177. Strabo, p. 621. Dionys. Ant. Rom. 1, 18). Lemnus was conquered from the Pelasgi by Miltiades (Herodot. 6, 140), and seems thenceforward, except during the expedition of Xerxes, to have been, together with Imbrus, subject to Athens, from whence the Pelasgic islands were probably colonized after the conquest. And hence, perhaps, the expression of Herodotus, that “ the islands were Ionian, in the same manner as the twelve cities of Ionia founded by the Athenians.” During the Peloponnesian war, the troops of Lemnus and Imbrus were constantly attached to the Athenians (Thucyd. 3, 5). These remarks have been chiefly occasioned by the remark of Walckenaer (V. Larcher, *Herodote*, 7, n. 149), who supposed Herodotus to have meant the Athenian islands

the men and ships of that town having been left in charge of the bridges over the Hellespont<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the chiefs of each national squadron, the whole fleet was under the supreme command of four Persians, one of whom was whole brother, and another half-brother to the king<sup>2</sup>. Achæmenes, the former, had charge of the Egyptians; Ariabignes, the latter, that of the Ionians and Carians. It was probably to the recent reduction of the Egyptians and of the Asiatic Greeks under the Persian yoke, and still more to their subsequent revolt, that they were indebted for this particular honour.

From Doriscus, the fleet pursued along the coast a route parallel to that of the army as it marched through a part of Thrace, Pæonia, and Macedonia, which had been subdued by Megabazus and Mardonius, in the reign of Dareius<sup>3</sup>. On the arrival of Xerxes at Acanthus, the land-forces proceeded to Therme, (afterwards Thessalonica,) while the fleet passed on the eastern side of Acanthus through the canal of the isthmus of Acte, which was now completed. Leaving Sane to their left, the vestiges of which town are still observable on a height above the southern entrance of the canal, precisely in the place which Herodotus and Thucydides have described<sup>4</sup>, the fleet entered the Gulf of Singus, and directed its course upon Cape Ampelus, the southern extremity of the peninsula of which Torone was the chief town; from thence a direct course carried it to Cape Canastrum, the extreme point of the peninsula called Pallene. Here entering the great Thermaic Gulf, they coasted its eastern shore to Therme, and anchored near the mouth of

of Ceus, Siphnus, Seriphus, Naxus, Andrus, and Tenus; though the ships of the three first were on the side of the Greeks, and it is clear from Herodotus that none of them sent their vessels until after the battle of Artemisium.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 89 seq.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 97.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 5, 12. 6, 43. 7, 108.

<sup>4</sup> Herodot. 7, 22. Thucyd. 4, 109.

the Axeius, on the shore of the immense plain which extends from Thessalonica to Berrhæa and Edessa, and where all the land-forces were now collected <sup>1</sup>.

In the course of the march from Doriscus the army had been joined by the people of Thrace and Pæonia; the fleet in like manner, in its passage along the coast, had been increased by 120 triremes furnished by the Greek cities of Thrace <sup>2</sup>, and by Samothracia and Thasus, of which islands some of the maritime cities of the neighbouring continent were dependencies or colonies.

In no situation do those magnificent features of the scenery of the north of Greece, Olympus and Ossa, present a more imposing aspect than at Thessalonica. Xerxes, struck with their appearance on his arrival at that place, was still more surprised when he heard that the road into Thessaly was through a narrow valley between the two mountains: embarking, therefore, in his Sidonian yacht, he proceeded to examine the pass in person; and, having beheld it with that admiration which Tempe must always inspire, he praised the Thessalians for their prudence, in making an early alliance with him, since he had it in his power, he said, by impeding the course of the river, to convert all the level country of Thessaly into a lake <sup>3</sup>.

This remark of the monarch, as to the Thessalians, is explained by Herodotus. It appears that before the departure of Xerxes from Persia he had received an embassy from the Aleuades, a powerful family of Larissa, who, like the Peisistratidæ of Athens, invited him to march into Greece. More recently, the Thessalians in general had resolved to submit to Xerxes, in consequence of the southern Greeks having given up all intention of defending Thessaly. Ten thousand hoplitæ, who had occupied Tempe, under Evænetus

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7. 108 seq. He mentions near forty of these cities, besides the islands.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 7, 128 seq.



of Sparta and Themistocles of Athens, unwilling to fight at such a distance from home, and convinced that the Persians would find out the route from Macedonia into Thessaly through Perrhæbia, by which Tempe would be taken in the rear, retired from that pass, while Xerxes was still at the Hellespont<sup>1</sup>. As Tempe was the only position in Thessaly defensible with a small body of troops, all the plains between the mountains Olympus and Othrys were by its evacuation left open to the enemy. But although by the abandonment of this post the direct and level road into Thessaly was given up to the Persians, Xerxes appears to have been afraid to risk the safety of his forces in a place where a few enemies on the adjacent heights might do them the greatest mischief. He preferred, therefore, the safer though circuitous and mountainous route through Perrhæbia; and thus one of the strongest passes in Greece, and by far the most convenient road into Thessaly, was neither defended by the Greeks, nor made useful by the Persians. While their army was encamped in Pieria at the southern extremity of the great Macedonian plain, one-third of the forces was employed in cutting down the woods on the branch of Mount Olympus which borders Pieria on the south-west, as a preparation for their passage into Perrhæbia<sup>2</sup>.

After consuming several days in these operations, and in receiving earth and water, the emblems of submission, from the cities of Thessaly and Locris, from the people bordering on the Maliac Gulf, and from all the cities of Bœotia with the exception of Thespiæ and Plataea, Xerxes with his whole army crossed the mountain into the valleys of Perrhæbia, and from thence entered the Thessalian plains.

When all hopes of defending Thessaly were at an end, the council of the confederate states, whose troops had assembled at the Isthmus, determined to oppose the passage of the Per-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 173. Plutarch, Themist. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 131.



sians over the next barrier of Southern Greece. In the ridges of Œta, nature has furnished a protection to the country still stronger than that of the Thessalian mountains : it was determined therefore to defend this line ; and when Xerxes advanced from Macedonia, the Greeks occupied Thermopylæ with their land-forces, and Artemisium with their fleet <sup>1</sup>.

Artemisium, so called from a temple of Diana near the shore, was an open roadstead on the northern coast of Eubœa <sup>2</sup>, opposite to the entrance of the Pagasæan or Pelasgic gulf <sup>3</sup>, and adjacent eastward to the bay and plain occupied by Histisea, afterwards called Oreus <sup>4</sup>. Situated near the entrance of the channel which led between Magnesia and Eubœa into the Maliac gulf, and from thence to the Euripus, Artemisium was an excellent station for a fleet, destined to protect this great maritime entrance into Greece, and particularly to prevent the enemy from landing in the rear of the forces, which defended Thermopylæ, while a communication between the two positions was easily maintained by means of two light vessels <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 175.

<sup>2</sup> "Εστι δὲ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἑστιαίαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορίαν ἀνακειπτάμενος, ἀντιτείνει δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ Φιλοκτῆτη χώρας γενομένης Ὀλιζών. Ἐχει δὲ ναὸν οὐ μίγαν Ἀρτίμιδος ἐπικλησιν Προσηφίας. Plutarch. Themist. 8. In the time of Plutarch a grove surrounded the temple, in which there was a circle of pillars of white marble, and on one of them the following :

Παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίης ἀπὸ χώρας  
Παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῷ δὲ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει  
Ναυμαχίῃ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων,  
Σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθισαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτίμιδι.

Stephanus has erroneously described Artemisium as a πόλις Εὐβοίας, Plutarch correctly as an αἰγιαλός, or littus. Ptolemy (3, 15) properly places it between Cerinthus and Oreus.

<sup>3</sup> Now the gulf of Volo.

<sup>4</sup> The remains of this ancient town are found at the western extremity of a considerable plain, at the south eastern end of which stands the modern Xirokhóri (Ξηροχόριον).

<sup>5</sup> Herodot. 7, 175. 8, 21.

The Greeks had not been long assembled at Artemisium, when they were made acquainted by fire-signals on the island Sciathus, of the arrival at that island of ten ships<sup>1</sup> of the enemy's fleet, which had been sent in advance to clear the way, and obtain information of any dangers of navigation that might occur in the intended course of the fleet. These ten ships having been chosen for their superior sailing, easily overtook three Greek triremes of observation, which had been stationed at Sciathus, and which fled on the appearance of the enemy. One of these vessels was from Athens, one from Ægina, and the third from Trœzen. The Persians made an easy capture of the Trœzenian ship, selected the handsomest man on board, and sacrificed him on the prow of the vessel. The trireme from Ægina was taken, after having been obstinately defended by its commander Pythes, whose wounds were healed by the Barbarians, and who was treated by them with the greatest respect for his valour. The Athenians of the third galley fled, stranded the ship at the mouth of the Peneius, and made their escape by land. Three of the Persian ships (probably on their return from this pursuit of the Athenian) erected a column of stone as a beacon, upon a dangerous rock, called Myrmex, which one Pammon of Seyrus had pointed out to them in the channel between Magnesia and Sciathus.

Upon the approach of the enemy, the Greeks thought it prudent to retreat to Chalcis (the modern 'Egripo), with the intention of defending the passage of the Euripus; and they left Hemeroscopes on the mountains of Eubœa, to bring them intelligence of the enemy's motions.

Eleven days after the departure of Xerxes the Persian fleet sailed from the head of the Thermaic Gulf. On the evening of the same day on which they sailed<sup>2</sup>, they

<sup>1</sup> *Ships* is here used in the same manner as Herodotus and Thucydides employ *νῆες* or *νῆες*; by these words, when without any particular designation, the historians always mean *triremes*.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 7, 183. Dr. Gillies (c. 9) has made the Persian fleet consume

arrived on the coast of Magnesia, and anchored in an open bay between Cape Sepias and the town of Casthanæa; where the space at the foot of the mountains was so narrow, that no more than one line of the ships was stranded, all the others remaining at anchor in eight lines. The next morning a violent gale set in from the eastward<sup>1</sup>, accompanied by a heavy sea, and lasted three days. In such an exposed situation, it was naturally fatal to a large proportion of the Persian ships. Those which were nearest to the shore were hauled up on the beach, and speedily enclosed by a palisading made from the wrecks: for the Persians were fearful of the Thessalians, notwithstanding the recent submission of that people to Xerxes. Of the vessels which remained at anchor, the greater part were driven by the tempest upon the coast of Mount Pelium, and the whole shore was strewn with their wrecks from Cape Sepias, as far north as Melibœa, at the foot of Mount Ossa. Four hundred triremes were lost, together with an immense number of smaller vessels.

The survivors lost no time, as soon as the weather permitted, in sailing round the south-eastern extremity of Magnesia into the canal of Eubœa. They anchored at Aphetæ, a port of the Pagasetic gulf, in the district of Olizon in Magnesia, eighty stades distant from Artemisium. The Greeks, who on the second day of the gale had notice from their Hemeroscopes of the disaster of the Persians, returned

eleven days in the passage, instead of their having sailed eleven days after the army moved. The distance from the head of the Gulf of Saloniki to the part of the coast of *Magnesia* where they anchored, is about eighty-five miles, or just a summer day's sail with a favourable wind, the waiting for which had probably been the chief cause of the delay of eleven days. They anchored on the coast of *Magnesia* because the day was spent; for it was a common practice of the ancients, as it is of the modern orientals in general, to anchor at night.

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 188. Herodotus says the wind was east, (*ἀπὸ λιλῶτης*); but as the local name for it was Hellespontias, indicating that it blew from the Hellespont, it was probably to the northward of east. Towards the end of the gale, the wind seems to have veered to the southward, which caused some of the wrecks to be thrown on the coast of mount Ossa.



with all possible speed from Chalcis to Artemisium, and had already anchored there before the arrival of the enemy at Aphetæ; fifteen of whose ships were captured, mistaking the Greek fleet for their own.

Although the disproportion of the two parties was considerably reduced by the effects of the tempest, it was still so great, that the Persians were astonished at the boldness of the Greeks in meeting them, and entertained little doubt of accomplishing the destruction of the whole Greek fleet, which now consisted of 271 triremes and nine penteconters <sup>1</sup>.

With this view, the Persians sent 200 of their triremes round the southern extremity of Eubœa to take possession of the Euripus, and thus to cut off the retreat of the Greek fleet through the Straits; for the Euripus, as Herodotus remarks, was the great object of both parties by sea, as Thermopylæ was by land <sup>2</sup>. It was the intention of the Persian commanders to attack the Greek fleet as soon as they had notice, by a preconcerted signal, of the approach of their own vessels from the Euripus; and, in order to elude the vigilance of the Greeks more effectually, that squadron was ordered in departing to steer to the northward, and to make the circuit of the isle of Sciathus <sup>3</sup>, before they directed their course to the southward.

But the Greeks had speedy intelligence of the enemy's design from one Scyllias of Scione, the most celebrated diver of his time <sup>4</sup>, who made his escape from Aphetæ: they resolved therefore to sail in the ensuing night directly to the Euripus, in order to meet the Persian squadron in its circumnavigation of Eubœa. Meantime finding that the enemy did not make any movement against them, they resolved to advance and

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 8, 7. Plutarch. Themist. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the Greeks of the Ægean sea are still remarkable for their skill in diving; chiefly for the purpose of cutting sponges. The most celebrated divers are the sponge-cutters of Symi, an island in the Ceramic Gulf, on the coast of the *Asiatic Doris*.



to make trial of his mode of fighting and manœuvring<sup>1</sup>. As the ships of their opponents were considerably reduced

<sup>1</sup> . . . μετέπειτα νύκτα μίσην παρήντας, ποριέσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλωούσῃσι τῶν νηῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλωε, διέλθον ὁψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες, αὐτοὶ ἱπανέπλων ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπόπειραν αὐτέων ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλοῦ.—Herodot. 8, 9. Διέκπλους ἐστὶ τὸ ἱμβαλεῖν καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέφαι καὶ αὐθις ἱμβαλεῖν. Schol. Thucyd. 1, 49. The retreating was effected by rowing stern foremost. This was called *πρύμνην κρούεσθαι*, *ἀνακρούεσθαι*, an expression common in the Greek historians—*ἀνακρούειν τῷ χαλινῷ* was a similar action with a horse (J. Poll. 1, 115. 211.) *Πρύμναν κρούεσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀναχωρεῖν μὴ στρίψαντα τὸ πλοῖον ὃ γὰρ οὕτως ἀναχωρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρύμναν κοπηλατιῖ.* Sch. Thucyd. 1, 50. In general the object of the *τὸ ἱμβαλεῖν* or advance, in the Greek *διέκπλους*, was to gain a velocity sufficient for striking an enemy's vessel in some weak part, or for carrying away his oars in running up alongside of it. In avoiding these attacks, or in effecting them against a cautious and skilful adversary, consisted chiefly the art of manœuvring in a naval action. The passage of Herodotus cited above seems to have been misunderstood by two modern historians of Greece. Mitford (8, 4) says, "In the evening, however, having received no confirmation of the intelligence, (for, to avoid observation, the enemy kept at a considerable distance from the Eubœan coast,) the Grecian commanders determined to try an attack," &c. The Greeks sought for no confirmation of the intelligence, and wanted none. They knew that the Persian squadron was already at a considerable distance, and that its circuitous route could not be completed in less than two or three days: They resolved, therefore, to proceed and meet it in its progress northward through the Euripus, and to move in the night, that they might not be immediately followed by the fleet at Aphetæ, but have the advantage of fighting the 200 triremes separately. The words *ὥς οὐδεὶς σφί ἐπέπλωε* allude to the fleet at Aphetæ. Seeing that this fleet did not move against them, which they had every reason to expect from its superior force, (indeed the Persians deferred the attack only till the arrival of their squadron sent round Eubœa,) the Greeks resolved to make the attack themselves when the enemy's force was divided; by which means they more effectually concealed their purpose of retreating in the night, at the same time that they tried the enemy's mode of fighting. Gillies (c. 10) not only falls into the same error as Mitford, but even represents the Greeks as having sent out "advice-boats to observe the progress of the Persians," upon the return of which without intelligence, he supposes their design of sailing at midnight to have been abandoned; that the Greeks then thought the opportunity afforded by the absence of the Persian squadron favourable for them "to display their courage in fight, and their superior skill in naval action," and that

in number, the opportunity was favourable, and the measure would have the effect of helping to conceal their purpose of sailing in the ensuing night. They moved about three hours before sunset<sup>1</sup>, and were met by the Persians, who by means of their superiority, surrounded them in such a manner, that the Greeks were obliged at first to form their ships into a circle with the prows outwards, towards the enemy. They soon however assumed the offensive, captured thirty of the Persian vessels, and were joined by a ship of Lemnus, which deserted from the enemy during the action. The ensuing night was extremely tempestuous. The Persians at Aphetæ, not yet recovered from the dis-

‘about sunset they approached in a line, and offered battle to the Persian fleet.’ Herodotus does not indeed mention why the Greeks abandoned their intention of sailing at midnight; but his narrative sufficiently explains it. Their design was suspended by the stormy weather that night, and partly, perhaps, by their unexpected success in the evening: the next day, its necessity was entirely superseded by the intelligence which they received of the destruction of the Persian squadron at the Cœla. There is not a word of evidence for the advice-boats of Dr. Gillies, or for the line in which he says that the Greeks advanced; and Herodotus most clearly states, that their attack was not for the empty purpose of displaying their own skill and valour, but for that of trying an enemy in regard to whose courage at sea and naval tactics they were yet unexperienced.

Larcher, (Trad. d’ Herodote, 8, note 12) who has adopted the opinion of Brunck, is still wider from the truth in regard to the same passage of Herodotus. He supposes, that the Greeks actually sailed at midnight towards the Euripus, and that, not finding any enemy, they returned to Artemisium and attacked the Persians on the following evening. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the attack of the Greeks took place on the evening *prior* to the night on which they had designed to sail, and that this design was never executed.

<sup>1</sup> Both Gillies and Mitford have represented the Greeks as advancing upon this occasion in the evening; but the circumstances of the battle as well on this as on the following day, show that these actions did not begin, but end, about the evening. It is seen in the preceding note, that the words used by Herodotus are, *δειλην ὥσιν*. *Δειλη* had several modes of signification; but Larcher (Hérodote, 8, note 13) has shown, chiefly from Dion Chrysostom (de Glor. Orat. 2), that its common import was the middle of the afternoon; and it is no small confirmation of this opinion, that *δελιῶν*, in modern Greek, means the hour stated in the text.

order occasioned by the battle, were thrown into the greatest confusion; but it was to the 200 ships which had attempted to make the circuit of Eubœa, that the tempest was most fatal; for this squadron having been overtaken by it at the Cœla, a dangerous coast between the Capes Caphareus and Geræstus<sup>1</sup>, not one of them escaped destruction.

On the following day the Greeks received, together with the intelligence of this event, a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian triremes. By these fortunate occurrences they were encouraged to make a second attempt upon the enemy. Having advanced at the same hour of the afternoon as on the preceding day, they particularly directed their efforts against the ships of Cilicia, and, having sunk or destroyed a great number of them, returned to Artemisium at night-fall<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ Καφηρέως καὶ Γεραιστοῦ τὰ Κοῖλα Εὐβοίας καλεῖται.—Strabo, Epit. 10. Est Sinus Euboicus quem Cœla vocant, suspectus nautis—Liv. 31, 47.

Πληθὺν δὲ νεκρῶν κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν.—Euripid. Troad. 84.

Euboicæ cautes, ultorque Caphereus.—Virgil. Æn. 11, 260.

Philostratus (Apollon. Tyan. 3, 23) describes the Κοῖλη Εὐβοία as a coast where are many projecting rocks (*ἀκρωτήρια*) and hidden shoals (*ἔρματα*). The promontories, of which the two principal are Geræstus and Caphareus, are the *τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Εὐβοίας* to which some of the people of Eretria proposed to retire, when their city was about to be attacked by the Persians under Datis (Herodot. 6, 100). A rugged coast, rising abruptly from the sea to the heights of Mount *Oche*, was difficult of access both by sea and land, and offered great resources of defence against an invader. It appears from Tzetzes, (in Lycophr. v. 373) that Cape Caphareus in the 12th century was known by the name of *Ξυλοφάγος*, devourer of wood (ships). It is now called Kavo Doro, and *Καφαρία*.

<sup>2</sup> Φυλάξαντες δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλώοντες ἐπέπισον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσησι ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, ἀπέπλωον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. Herodot. 8, 14. The words ὥς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο connected with τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, prove that Herodotus could not have meant the evening by *δείλη ὀψίη* in his description of the action of the preceding day. Nor were the two English historians, mentioned in a preceding note, warranted by this passage in stating that the whole Cilician squadron was cut off and destroyed. The Cilician ships amounted to 100 before the storm at Casthanœa, and some of them fought at Salamis. That these were not a reinforcement from Cilicia is manifest from the remarks of Herodotus, on the state of the armament, when it arrived at Phalerum (8, 66).



The Persians, ashamed of being insulted by a force so very inferior, and afraid of the displeasure of Xerxes, resolved at length to become the assailants, and on the subsequent day at noon they attacked the Greeks in the bay of Artemisium. The combat was long and obstinate, and the loss was severe on both sides. The Persians again formed their ships into a crescent; the Greeks again anticipated the attack, as they had done in the first day's action; and when the Persian ships closed towards the centre, as they were necessarily obliged to do, in approaching the comparatively small body of the enemy, they fell aboard of each other, and their numbers became of little advantage to them. As Herodotus says that their loss was much greater than that of the Greeks<sup>1</sup>, and as five of the Greek triremes were taken by the Egyptians, and not less than ninety of the Athenian galleys were damaged, we can hardly reckon the loss of the Persian fleet, between taken, sunk, and disabled, at less than 100 triremes. But a repetition of such victories would have been to the Greeks as serious in their consequences as a defeat, and the event of the last action convinced them of the necessity of retiring from Artemisium. Nevertheless, the experience and the confidence which they had gained had been well purchased: and Pindar has truly said that at Artemisium "the sons of Athens had laid the foundations of liberty".

While the Greek commanders were deliberating upon a retreat, intelligence arrived of the loss of Thermopylae, on the same day on which the last engagement had occurred at Artemisium. It was decreed therefore to proceed immediately to the protection of the southern states, now threatened by the Persian army. The ships sailed in the order in which they were anchored; the Corinthians, who were in the left wing, leading the van, and the Athenians occupying

<sup>1</sup> *πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νῆες διαφθείροντο, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες. πολλῶν δ' ἔτι πλεῖνες νῆες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες.* Herodot. 8, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλοντο φαινὴν κρηπὶδ' ἐλευθερίας.* Pindar. ap. Plutarch. de Glor. Athen. 7. Themist. 8. de Malign. Herodot. 34.



the more dangerous position of the rear<sup>1</sup>. Thus they passed through the channel of Eubœa, and arrived at Salamis without any delay or interruption. On the morning after their departure, the Persian fleet crossed the Euboic Strait with great caution, and on the same afternoon anchored at Artemisium. Here they remained a few days, during which great numbers of the Persians passed over to Thermopylæ, by permission of Xerxes, to satisfy their curiosity, by viewing the scene of action and the dead: they then followed the same route which the Greeks had taken through the Euripus, and in three days anchored in the Athenian roadstead of Phalerum.

“In my opinion,” says Herodotus<sup>2</sup>, “the Persians, when they entered Attica, were not less numerous either by land or sea, than when they arrived at Thermopylæ and Sepias; for against the men who had perished in the storms at sea, and in the battles at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, I will place those who had not yet followed the king; namely, the Melienses, the Dorians, the Locri, and the Bœotians; the last of whom joined him with all their forces, except those belonging to Thespiæ and Platæa. He was reinforced also by the Carystii, the Andrii and Tenii, as well as by all the islanders except those of the five cities which I have already mentioned. The Parii, however, awaited at Cythnus the event of the war; all the others joined Xerxes at Phalerum; and thus the farther he advanced in Greece, the more numerous his armament became.”

However clear and decided this opinion of the historian may appear, it is unsupported by proof, and purely conjectural. In truth it can scarcely be correct as to the naval forces, for when we consider that of the Persian ships, which at Sepias amounted to 1327, about 700 were lost at that place, at Cœla, and at Aphetæ, it is scarcely possible to believe, that from a few cities bordering on the canal of Eubœa, and from some of the smaller islands of the Ægean, not one of which had furnished the Greeks

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 66.

with more than four triremes, Xerxes could have supplied the loss of half a fleet which had taken him seven years to collect from all Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. The probability is, that the only correct numerical knowledge which the Greeks obtained of any part of the Persian armament at any period of the expedition, was that of the triremes at the muster of Doriscus. An unfounded opinion appears to have prevailed that the losses as far as Artemisium and Thermopylæ had been supplied by the subsequent reinforcements, and upon this foundation alone seem to have rested the several estimates of the Persian numbers at Salamis, namely, the 1200<sup>1</sup> or 1300<sup>2</sup> of Isocrates, the more than 1000 of Plato and Ctesias<sup>3</sup>, the 1200 of Nepos<sup>4</sup>, and above all the 1207 which Æschylus has given with an obvious pretension to rigid accuracy<sup>5</sup>, but which being precisely the number resulting from the muster of Doriscus, seems clearly to betray its origin. We cannot wonder that the Greeks should have been ignorant of the Persian numbers at Salamis, when the best authorities differ so widely as to their own; Herodotus making the Greek ships amount to about 380, and Æschylus at the utmost to 310. *About one thousand* therefore is the greatest accuracy we can pretend to, in stating the strength of the Persian fleet at Salamis; and from these are to be deducted, in estimating the number of ships engaged in the battle, those which were

<sup>1</sup> Isocr. Paneg. 27. 33.<sup>2</sup> Panath. 17.<sup>3</sup> χιλίων καὶ ἑπτὰ πλείονων. Plat. leg. 3, 14. ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλιάς. Ctes. 26.<sup>4</sup> Corn. Nep. Themist. 2.<sup>5</sup>

"Ελλησιν μὲν ἦν

Ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα

Νεῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἑκκριτος·

Ξέρξῃ δὲ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιάς μὲν ἦν,

Ὡν ἦγε, πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρομποι τάχει

Ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν, ἐπτὰ θ' ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

Pers. 338.

The words *χωρὶς* and *πλῆθος* are sufficiently ambiguous to warrant the question whether the numbers intended by the poet were 1000 and 300, or 1207 and 310. But the exact coincidence of 1207 with the result of the muster at Doriscus, and indeed the words themselves seem to favour the larger numbers.

sent to occupy the Megaric strait of Salamis, and which, according to Plutarch, were 200 in number.

The Greeks, although they had suffered so severely in the last action at Artemisium, reunited their forces not less speedily than the Barbarians, and still more effectually; a second fleet, which they had been collecting in the harbour called Pogon, in Trœzenia, joined their friends at Salamis, and made the Greek ships amount (according to Herodotus) to 367 triremes<sup>1</sup> and five penteconters, including among the triremes the deserter from Lemnus. The Athenians, Corinthians, and Megarenses, had repaired their losses, so as to have exactly the same number of ships as at Artemisium. The Æginetæ added twelve to the number engaged at Artemisium, besides employing (according to the supposition mentioned in the note) twelve more for the protection of their island, which was peculiarly exposed to danger, all the opposite coast of Attica being in the hands of the enemy. The Euboic cities which adhered to the cause of Greece,

<sup>1</sup> In favour of the enumeration of Æschylus, we may remark—1. That he was present in the action; whereas the historian was only an infant at that time.—2. That the numbers of Æschylus being stated in *verse*, cannot easily have been falsified by erroneous copies.—3. That the text of Herodotus is at variance with itself; his total number of 378 exceeding the sum of the contingents by 12. On the other hand—1. The details of Herodotus give an authenticity to his narrative, which is deficient in Æschylus.—2. The disagreement between the total of Herodotus and his details is easily accounted for, if we suppose that in the total of 378 the historian included the Æginetan ships, which he states to have been left to defend the coast of Ægina, and that these ships were twelve in number;—a supposition which is in some measure confirmed by Pausanias, who remarks, that on this occasion, next to the Athenian ships, those of Ægina were the most numerous; whence it appears that they must have exceeded forty, the number of the Corinthian ships. From Thucydides little is to be learnt on this question. He says, that the Athenian ambassadors sent to Sparta just before the Peloponnesian war, being desirous of heightening the merits of Athens in the Persian invasion, stated, that of 400 ships at Salamis, the Athenians furnished little less than two thirds. One of the manuscripts, however, of Thucydides has 300 instead of 400; and this must be the correct reading, if the ambassadors spoke truth as to the proportion of the Athenian vessels, and if at the same time Herodotus is right in stating the Athenian contingent at 180.



brought the same ships which had been employed at Artemisium. Those manned by the Chalcidenses of Eubœa had been borrowed from the Athenians <sup>1</sup>.

The contingent of each state upon this occasion, furnishes us with a good scale for judging of their relative importance at sea. Athens had 180 ships, Ægina 30, Corinth 40, Megara 20, Chalcis of Eubœa 20, Sparta 16, Sicyon 15, Epidaurus 10, Eretria of Eubœa 7, Ambracia 7, Leucas 3, Trœzen 5, Hermione 3, Styra of Eubœa 2, Ceus 2, Naxos 4, Cythnus 1 trireme and 1 penteconter, Melus 2 penteconters, Seriphus 1 penteconter, Siphnus 1 penteconter, Crotona in Italy 1 trireme.

The description of the battle by Æschylus, who was engaged in it, is contained in a speech of the Πέρσαι addressed to Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, by a messenger whom the monarch has sent from Athens to Persia.

The messenger begins by stating, that Xerxes, upon receiving information from a pretended friend in the Grecian fleet, that the Greeks were preparing to retreat in the ensuing night from the straits of Salamis, gave orders to his naval commanders to arrange his fleet in three lines, as soon as the darkness should be sufficient to commence their proceedings, and at the same time to occupy all the openings and narrow passages of the straits, detaching other ships to complete the blockade of the island, and making the Persian commanders answerable with their heads for the escape of any of the Greeks. The poet then proceeds to say: "The Persians having taken their supper, the rowers tied their oars with the leathern thongs to the pegs <sup>2</sup>, and when

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 1. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ  
Τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετον.

Æschyl. Pers. v. 373.

The mode of forming a pivot for the oar on the gunwale of the Greek vessels, described in these words of Æschylus, has been in use from the earliest



the night came on, both rowers and combatants embarked. All night the commanders were occupied in arranging the ships in their appointed stations. The Greeks made no attempt to escape: on the contrary, at day-light, the Barbarians were struck with surprise and fear, when they beheld the Greeks prepared for battle, and heard the rocks of Salamis re-echo to the sound of the trumpet and to the song of the Pæan. The stroke of the Grecian oars kept time to the word of command. First, the right wing, and then the whole fleet, moved forward, the commanders exhorting their men to liberate by that day's combat their country, their families, the tombs of their ancestors, and the seats of their paternal deities. These cries having been met by those of the Persians, the battle was commenced by a Greek ship, which attacked a Phœnician, and carried away its outer works. At first the Persians sustained the encounter, but at length the multitude of their ships became embarrassed in the narrow sea, and, instead of assisting one another, their oars were carried away by the brazen prows of their own fleet. The Greeks then attacked them on every side; the hulls of the Persian vessels were overturned; and the sea was no longer to be seen for the broken ships

times, and still remains in use. It is one of the operations of putting to sea, described by Homer:

*Ἡρτύναντο δ' ἱερτμά τροποῖς ἐν δερματίνοισι.*—*Od. Δ. v. 782.*

In the Greek boats of the present day, a leathern thong (*τροπωτήρι*) embraces the middle of the oar (*κουπί*), together with a strong peg (*σκαλμός*), fixed in the gunwale in the manner described in the annexed sketch.



1. σκαλμός.

2. τροπωτήρι.

3. κουπί.

*σκαλμός*· περί ὃν δεσμέουσι τὰς κώπας πάσσαλον. Etym. M. in *τροπωτήρις*· οἱ ἱμάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, ἐν οἷς αἱ κώπαι περί τοὺς σκαλμοὺς περιδέονται. Phot. Lex. in v. V. et J. Poll. I, 87. Hesych. in *τροπώσασθε*.

and the bodies of the slain, which covered even the rocks and the shore. The remaining vessels of the Persians had recourse to a disorderly flight; those disabled were surrounded by the Greeks; and the men were beaten to death by broken oars and fragments of the wrecks, like a shoal of tunnies, or a netfull of other fish. Night alone put an end to the cries and groans which filled all the Pelasgian sea; for never before was there such a multitude of men slain in one day."

"In a small island, difficult of access, the resort of Pan, which lies before Salamis, Xerxes had posted a body of Persians, selected for their beauty, valour, noble birth, or fidelity to the king. He had placed them there for the purpose of securing a refuge to his own friends, or of preparing an easy conquest of the Greeks, if the latter, after having lost their ships, should escape to the island. But no sooner had the deity given victory to the Greeks, than a band of them, clothed in brazen armour, leapt out of their vessels, and surrounded the island on every side, that the enemy might have no means of escaping. Many of the Persians fell by stones and arrows, and at length in a general assault of the Greeks, they all perished. When Xerxes, who had been seated during the action upon a lofty height near the sea, beheld this last most severe misfortune, he cried out aloud, and rent his garments, gave orders to his army, and betook himself to a disorderly flight."

The "pretended friend," mentioned by the poet in the beginning of this narrative of the battle, was Sicinnus, preceptor of the children of Themistocles, whom the Athenian commander had sent with a deceitful message to the enemy's fleet<sup>1</sup>. Never was the power of a superior mind, in reconciling discordant interests, and in making them bend to his own great purposes, more conspicuous than in the instance of Themistocles upon this occasion. Without such a coun-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 75, 110.

sellor and leader, the Athenian democracy could never have acquired for itself the singleness of design necessary to success in war; still less could Athens have obtained sufficient influence to overcome the delays, the hesitation, and the want of concert and discipline inherent in every confederacy, but particularly a confederacy of republics. It was in great measure owing to the councils of Themistocles that the Athenians were in a state of readiness for the Persian war. Not uninformed of the preparations which Darius and Xerxes had for seven years been making against Greece, and against Athens in particular, and justly calculating that the encroachments of Persian power and influence in Ionia and Thrace had done more to facilitate and encourage a future attempt than the failure of the two former expeditions to prevent it, Themistocles foresaw that the salvation of Greece was to be looked for in the superior skill of the Greeks at sea, and especially in the strength of the navy of his own republic, which had taken the lead in Greece since the victory at Marathon. It was with this view that Themistocles had persuaded the Athenians to apply the treasure derived from the mines of Laurium, which they were about to divide among themselves, to the increase of their navy, with the ostensible view of prosecuting the war with their maritime rival Ægina; by these means the Athenian fleet received an increase of 200 triremes at a most seasonable moment, and was still farther augmented when the danger from Persia became more imminent<sup>1</sup>.

The Athenians found the utmost difficulty in obtaining a cordial co-operation from their irresolute allies, each think-

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 7, 144. Herodotus remarks, that the war between Ægina and Athens was the salvation of Greece, by obliging Athens to become a naval power. But in considering the fortunate concurrence of circumstances which led to the result of the contest with Persia, the possession of the mines of Laurium, which gave the Athenians the means of raising a navy, should not be omitted: for Athens had not much commerce at that time; the little which the conquest of Egypt and Asia by the Persians, and the subsequent hostility of those countries, had left to the eastern coast of Greece, was then principally in the hands of Ægina.



ing more of his individual safety than of the common cause of Greece. Although the Athenian ships formed at least half the fleet, the jealousy of the other powers prevented the chief command from being given to an Athenian; and Themistocles could only prevent their dispersion at Artemisium by bribing Adeimantus the Corinthian, and Eurybiades the Spartan, on the latter of whom the chief command of the allied fleet was conferred, although there were no more than ten Lacedæmonian ships at Artemisium, and sixteen at Salamis. The difficulty of preventing the allies from dispersing was still greater at Salamis than at Artemisium. The Peloponnesians were very naturally afraid of being shut up in that island without provisions, and without the possibility of a retreat to the peninsula, if the Persians should be victorious. They resolved, therefore, to proceed to the Isthmus, where their land-forces were employed in constructing a rampart and ditch from one sea to the other, after having rendered impassable the Scironian road, which passes along the rocky coast lying between Megara and Crommyon<sup>1</sup>.

Some of the Greek ships had already spread their sails for departure, when Themistocles, convinced that if they once quitted Salamis for any less advantageous situation, they would not wait for the attack of the Persian fleet, but would retire to their respective cities, tried once more his influence over Eurybiades; but although he succeeded in convincing this commander of the impolicy of a retreat even with a view to the defence of the Peloponnesus, he was unable to counteract the opposition of the Corinthian and other leaders, until he announced the determination of

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8. 40. 56. 9, 7. 10. The bay anciently called Schœnus, and now Kalamáki, which is at the narrowest part of the Isthmus, and which was consequently the eastern termination of the line fortified by the Peloponnesians, was evidently the place to which they intended to retire. Near the shore of this bay the remains of the stadium and theatre of the Isthmian games, and the site of the temple of Neptune, are still to be distinguished.



the Athenians to abandon the cause of Greece, if the allies should retreat from Salamis. To Adeimantus, the Corinthian who attempted to silence the Athenian commander by reminding him that the Athenians had no longer any country, Themistocles replied, that as long as they had 200 ships manned by their own citizens<sup>1</sup>, no state in Greece could resist them; and that in the worst circumstances they would emigrate to Siris in Italy, which already belonged to them. For the moment this threat was successful. Meantime, the Persians advanced from Phalerum to the straits of Salamis, with the intention of coming to action on the ensuing morning. Xerxes had not adopted this resolution without holding a council of war, in which the opinion of each commander was asked, beginning with the kings of Sidon and Tyre. All were for battle, except Artemisia of Halicarnassus, who commanded five ships from her native city, and from the neighbouring islands of Cos, Nisyrus, and the Calydnæ. She advised Xerxes to blockade Salamis, where the enemy had no provisions, while the land-forces should march to the Peloponnesus; and she most judiciously urged as reasons for not hazarding a general action by sea, the superior skill of the Greeks, and the little reliance which Xerxes could place upon the people of Cyprus, Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Egypt.

The fears and selfishness of the Peloponnesians having once more gained the ascendancy, Themistocles was obliged to have recourse to a stratagem of singular boldness. Persuaded that the Greeks, however divided they might be in opinion, would agree heartily in opposing the Barbarians when battle became inevitable, he sent Sicinnus to the Persian commanders with assurances of his own good wishes to their cause, informing them at the same time of the intention of the Greeks to retreat, and urging the Persians to attack them while they were in this state of disagreement among one another.

<sup>1</sup> This number was made up of the 180 manned by Athenians together with the twenty which they had lent to the Chalcidenses.

"The Persians," says Herodotus<sup>1</sup>, "thinking the advice sincere, disembarked a considerable force in the little island of Psyttaleia, situated between Salamis and the continent; then, in the middle of the night, they advanced the wing of their fleet which was towards the west, for the purpose of investing the island of Salamis on every side; while the ships which were drawn up about Ceus and Cynosura moved forward also, and occupied all the strait as far as Munychia. They advanced their fleet in this manner to prevent the enemy from escaping, and in order that, thus enclosed on every side, the Greeks might suffer punishment for what they had done at Artemisium."

Upon comparing this passage with the narrative of Æschylus, who says that the main body of the Persian ships drew up in a triple line, while others proceeded to invest Salamis on every side, there remains no doubt that the Persians took especial care to occupy with some of their ships the western channel of Salamis towards the Megaris, with the same view as they had sent a squadron to occupy the Euripus, when the Greeks were at Artemisium. The Megaric channel was in fact the only position necessary to be occupied in order to prevent the escape of the Greeks. According to Plutarch, there were 200 ships employed on this service, or exactly the same number sent from Aphetæ to the Euripus. Diodorus says they were Egyptians, and he expressly states that the Megaric Strait was the position which they occupied. No further mention is made of this squadron; but it seems evident that they could not have been engaged in the battle.

The words of Herodotus concerning Ceus and Cynosura are not equally clear: Cynosura was probably the name of the long rocky cape, which projects towards the Attic shore on the eastern side of the Bay of Salamis, and which, as we have already seen, was sometimes known by the appellation of Sileniæ and Tropæa. A similar Cape at

<sup>1</sup> Herod. 8, 76.

Marathon was also called Cynosura; and the name (meaning "dog's tail") was often applied by the Greeks to narrow promontories of this kind<sup>1</sup>. Herodotus seems to have introduced the name of Cynosura solely for the purpose of noticing the fulfilment of the prophecy of an oracle, which predicted victory to the Greeks, and which began with the words—"When the Barbarians shall cover with their ships the sacred shore of Diana and that of Cynosura<sup>2</sup>." These words of the oracle, compared with those

<sup>1</sup> Hesych. in *Κυνόσουρα*. See above p. 78, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν  
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι, καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν,

ἰλπίδι μαινομένην λιπαράς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας, &c. Herodot. 8, 77.

The diligent translator and commentator of Herodotus, Larcher, seems not to have sufficiently considered these verses, or to have duly compared them with the words of his author, when he formed the opinion which he has given in the 109th note of the 8th book of his translation: namely, that by "Ceus" Herodotus meant the island of that name opposite to the south-eastern extremity of Attica, and by "Cynosura" the promontory of Marathon on the Attic coast. The words of Herodotus are as follows: Τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἰγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, τοῦτο μὲν, ἐς τὴν νησίδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἰγίνοντο μῆσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης κέρας κυκλοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατέχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνικεν ἀνῆγον τὰς νῆας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μὴδὲ φυγέειν ἐξῆ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθῆντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων.—Herodot. 8, 76. M. Larcher supposed that the Persian fleet formed a chain round the coast of Attica from Phalerum on the west to the strait of Eubœa on the east; and that in the middle of the night before the battle, the western wing of the Persian fleet at Phalerum proceeded to invest the southern and western sides of Salamis, while the eastern wing, which was near Eubœa, entered the Saronic Gulf, and occupied the strait between Salamis and the Attic shore. Herodotus however distinctly states (8, 67), that all the land-forces were assembled at Athens (ἐπεὶ ὧν ἀπὶ κάρω ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες αὐτοὶ) . . . . and the entire fleet at Phalerum (οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπὶ κόντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον). Such a movement as M. Larcher supposes was impossible, the distance from Salamis to the Cynosura of Marathon being more than sixty nautical miles, and that from Salamis to Ceus more than forty; his explanation therefore can only be admitted on the supposition that the words οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι may be interpreted "those vessels, which had been stationed near Marathon and the



of Æschylus, seem to point out the exact position which the Persians assumed, in three lines, in the night which preceded the action. Their first movement in the afternoon had been to quit the neighbourhood of Phalerum, and to approach the Strait of Salamis; the next, after having received the message of Themistocles, was to occupy Psyttaleia, and to place the westernmost of their ships in different stations around Salamis, particularly in the Megaric strait, at the same time that the great body of the fleet was arranged in the channel between Salamis and Attica, from the Munychian peninsula as far as the strait leading to the Bay of Eleusis. Thus the point of Cynosura and the island of Psyttaleia were opposite to the centre of the triple line

island Ceus" previously to the first movement: it is evident, however, that *τεταγμένοι* in c. 76, depends on *διαταχθέντες* in c. 70, where the latter word describes the position of the Persian ships before the message of Themistocles had been received. There were obviously two movements of the Persian fleet previous to the engagement. In the afternoon, as soon as Xerxes had formed the resolution to attack, the whole of his fleet approached Salamis, and formed in order of battle. (*Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλώειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νῆας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, καὶ παρέκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίαν· τότε μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νύξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἱ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἰς τὴν ὑστεραίην.* c. 70.) The Persians did not attack on that evening, because it was too late; but drew up in readiness for the following morning. It was not until the message of Themistocles was received, that the Persian commanders ordered a second movement, or that in which the ships about Ceus and Cynosura are said by Herodotus to have entered and covered all the straits. There seems, therefore, no room for a doubt, that Herodotus intended to say, that the straits were occupied in the middle of the night by the ships which had been drawn up on the preceding afternoon, in order of battle, near Cynosura; nor can there be much hesitation (as the main body of the Persian fleet must have been brought very near this cape, in the movement of the afternoon,) in concluding from this evidence alone that *Cynosura* was the Cape of Aghia Varvára. As to the words *τὴν Κίον*, it is possible that Ceus may have been a place in Salamis, or on the Attic coast opposite to Cape Cynosura; it is also possible that there is some error in the text. Perhaps Herodotus wrote *τὴν νῆσον* in reference to the island of Psyttaleia; the mention of which immediately preceded that of the movement of the ships into the strait.



of the Persians, and near their right was a cape of Salamis, upon or adjacent to which, as we have already seen from Pausanias, stood a temple of Diana; and hence the words of the oracle of Bacis relating to the shore of Diana, which Herodotus has quoted. The Greek fleet extended probably from near the island of Arpathóni to Cape *Cynosura*, and possessed the advantage of having their flanks covered by the shore, and thus secured from being attacked by the enemy with more than an equal front. That the Munychian peninsula was the situation of the left wing of the Persians, appears from the words of Herodotus just cited; and that the right extended towards the Bay of Eleusis is equally evident from a subsequent passage, where the historian says that the Phœnicians were opposed to the Athenians, who occupied the wing of the Greeks towards the west and Eleusis <sup>1</sup>.

Xerxes being persuaded that the unsuccessful result of the actions at Artemisium was in great measure the consequence of his not having been present <sup>2</sup>, now assumed in the rear of his fleet, a station on shore, which we may presume to have been nearly opposite to the centre of his line.

While the Persians were surrounding the Greeks on every side, the latter were passing the time in debate. They supposed the enemy's fleet to be in the same place where they had seen it in the day. The Peloponnesians were more anxious than ever to retreat, having learnt that the Persian army had begun its march that very evening towards the Isthmus. In this conjuncture Aristides, who had been banished from Athens chiefly by the arts of Themistocles, and who had already heard of the unwillingness of the Peloponnesians to fight at Salamis, arrived from Ægina, and calling Themistocles out from the council, said to him, "we have often been opposed to each other, let us still be rivals and contend which of us can

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 85.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 69.

render the greatest service to his country. The Peloponnesians may debate as they will. It is too late, the enemy surrounds us, I am an eye-witness of it. Neither the Corinthians, nor Eurybiades himself can any longer escape. Enter, therefore, and communicate this intelligence to the council."—"Know," replied Themistocles, "that the Persians have done this by my advice; I had no other means of inducing the Greeks to fight. Go, therefore, and impart the news yourself; for if I were to do so, they would not believe me." Aristeides then communicated his information, adding that he had found it very difficult to pass unnoticed through the Persian ships; but the council hesitated to believe an Athenian, until his intelligence was confirmed by the commander of a trireme of Tenus, which deserted from the enemy. As soon as the dawn appeared, the hoplitæ and archers of embarkation were assembled<sup>1</sup>, Themistocles harangued the Athenians, and the troops were embarked. At this moment the ship arrived from Ægina, which had been sent to obtain the aid and presence of the Æacidæ in the battle.

The Greeks now presented to the astonished Persians the appearance which Æschylus has described; and, instead of

<sup>1</sup> Οἱ σὺλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατίων ποιησάμενοι.—(Herodot. 8, 83.) The distinction of the ἐπιβάται, ναῦται, and κοπηλάται, has been alluded to in a former note. It has been seen, that there were sometimes fifty hoplitæ in each trireme. Plutarch indeed says, that at the battle of Salamis there were only fourteen hoplitæ and four archers in each of the Athenian galleys: but as the Athenian army was then in Salamis, and the hoplitæ were so numerous, that many of them were drawn up on the shore and were mere spectators of the battle, (Herodot. 8, 95) it seems incredible, that the Athenian triremes should not at least have had as many of these marines on board as the enemy, who had thirty in each ship.—(Herodot. 7, 184.) When the continent was again open to the Athenians, the number of epibatæ may have been reduced; and hence it may easily be credited, that when the whole strength of Athens by land was required for the operations against Mardonius, they may not have been more numerous in each ship than Plutarch mentions. Such, for instance, may have been their proportion in the battle of Mycale, which was fought on the same day as that of Platea.

being unprepared, were advancing to the combat. The Persians moved forward also, and the shock was so violent, that the Greeks retreated for some distance<sup>1</sup>—a movement which may have been useful, by enabling them to correct any disorder in their line, and because it was their only means in such a narrow strait, crowded with vessels, of obtaining sufficient space for the regular advance of their galleys with the velocity which was required to give full effect to the impulse of the brazen prows<sup>2</sup>.

Three ships belonging to three different republics were said to have maintained their stations on this occasion, and not to have joined in the retreat; and each of the three states claimed in consequence for its vessel the honour of having been the first to stand an engagement with the enemy's ships, and, by causing the whole Greek line to advance to its assistance, to have thus brought on the general action. It was a disputed point between Athens and Ægina, whether the honour was due to the trireme of Ameinias, brother of the poet Æschylus, or to the ship just returned from Ægina<sup>3</sup>. A third claimant was Demodicus or Democritus of Naxos, who has been celebrated in an epigram of Simonides<sup>4</sup>, but who has not been noticed

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι "Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρόμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὠκέλλον τὰς νῆας. Herodot. 8, 84. See above, p. 245. n. 1. Plutarch asserts that the Greeks did not fight until the hour when the usual sea-breeze sets in; and adds, that Themistocles chose that time because the low strongly built vessels of the Greeks were much less affected by the agitated sea than the high sterns and lofty decks of the Barbarian ships, which becoming unmanageable, were thus exposed to the well directed action of the Grecian prows. The difference of construction here noticed by the biographer between the Greek ships and that part of the Persian fleet, which was not Greek, may have been true, and as the battle lasted the greater part of the day, the Greeks may have derived some advantage from the rough water, but Æschylus and Herodotus agree in showing that the action began at daylight, and not at the hour when the sea breeze sets in, which is generally late in the forenoon in the season when the battle was fought, that is to say towards the end of September.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 8, 64. 84. Diodor. 11, 27.

<sup>4</sup> Ap. Plutarch. de Malign. Herod. 36.



by Herodotus except as a trierarch, who persuaded his countrymen on board the four triremes of that island to join the Greek fleet instead of the Persian, to which they had been sent <sup>1</sup>.

We learn from the same historian, that the Athenian ships were on the western or left wing of the Greeks, and that they were opposed to the Phœnicians : that the Lacedæmonians were on the right, and opposed to the Ionians <sup>2</sup>. The Æginetans were probably next to the Lacedæmonians, for towards the end of the battle they were in possession of the eastern strait <sup>3</sup>.

Herodotus, instead of giving a consecutive narrative of the battle of Salamis, has related only a few of the most interesting occurrences : consistently with that determination not to be responsible for any but ascertained facts, which is observable in every part of his history of the Persian invasion : in truth, who can describe all the details of a battle with accuracy ? Diodorus states that the first cause of the victory was the defeat of the ships of Phœnice and Cyprus by the Athenians, who then attacked those of the southern coast of Asia Minor ; that these resisted for some time, but were at length repulsed ; when, the Athenians having assailed the left of the enemy's fleet, which had hitherto fought valiantly, the confusion of the Barbarians became general <sup>4</sup>. This account, although not from the best authority, may very possibly be correct : for we cannot doubt that the Athenians by their superior energy and numbers led the way to victory, and determined the course which the action assumed.

The Greeks had reckoned upon deriving some assistance from the disaffection of the Ionians and Carians ; and

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 8, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 85.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 8, 91. Diodorus (11, 17) unites the Lacedæmonians with the Athenians on the left, and places the Æginetæ on the right : in the latter he seems not to have been much in error, as the Lacedæmonian squadron consisted of no more than sixteen ships.

<sup>4</sup> Diodor. 11, 19.



Themistocles, with a view to this object, or at least to render them suspected to the Persians, had, before his departure from Artemisium, written an address to them upon some rocks near the watering-place in that harbour, wherein he exhorted them to abandon the cause of Persia, or, if that should be found impossible, to abstain from putting forth their strength in battle, and to remember that they were fighting against the mother-country. But the contracted views which so often direct the councils of small republics, prevented the stratagem from being successful. The same motives which prevented the Ionian chiefs from listening to Miltiades, who advised the destruction of the bridge of Dareius over the Danube, when that monarch was engaged with the Scythians<sup>1</sup>, again actuated the commanders of the Asiatic Greeks. Their leading men owed to Persia the power which they enjoyed in their respective cities, and had therefore little temptation to desert its cause. In fact, the Greek auxiliaries of Xerxes, by their superiority both in skill and courage, were the most efficient part of his navy, and it was upon them that the chief weight of the contest fell.

The little reliance which could be placed by Xerxes on the squadrons of Egypt, Cyprus, Cilicia and Pamphylia, and which was foreseen by Artemisia, was attested after the action by Mardonius<sup>2</sup>. The Ionians, on the contrary, captured several of the Greek ships: the death of Ariabignes, the brother of Xerxes, who had the command of the Ionians and Carians, shows in what part of the fleet the battle had chiefly raged; and two of the Ionian commanders, whose conduct was observed by the king, and whose names were by his orders inscribed by his secretaries among those who had served him faithfully, were afterwards rewarded, the one with the government of Samus, the other with a large grant of land. Towards the close of

<sup>1</sup> Herodot. 4, 137. B.C. 508.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 68. 100.

the action, when the Phœnicians had been routed by their Athenian opponents, some Phœnicians, who had lost their ships, and had escaped to the shore, endeavoured to hide their disgrace by taking advantage of the suspicions which always oppressed the Asiatic Greeks in the Persian court, and complained to Xerxes of the treachery of the Ionians as the cause of their misfortune. But it happened at the same moment that a vessel of Samothrace sank an Athenian under the eyes of the king; and although the former was immediately afterwards destroyed by a ship of Ægina, the Samothracians, by means of their skill in using the javelin, not only saved themselves, but captured the Æginetan. This practical answer to the accusation of the Phœnicians was fatal to them; for Xerxes, who was already ill-disposed towards them by the general misconduct of the Phœnician squadron, gave immediate orders that the calumniators should lose their heads<sup>1</sup>.

Artemisia, for whose capture the Athenians had offered a reward of 10,000 drachmæ, escaped about the same time from the enemy, by means of her cunning and presence of mind, and obtained more credit with Xerxes than she really deserved. Her galley being in great danger from the ship of Ameinias, she suddenly attacked and sank that of Damasithymus of Calyndus in Caria<sup>2</sup>, a neighbour, against whom she had probably some private cause of dislike. This action having persuaded the Athenian that her ship

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the conduct of the Ionians, Diodorus relates an improbable story, which is not confirmed by Herodotus. He says, that when the Persians had stationed their fleet in the straits and around the island, the Ionians sent a certain Samian secretly to the Greeks, to communicate that information, together with a promise that they would desert the enemy during the action. He does not add, however, that they did desert. On the contrary, he remarks, that the left of the Barbarian fleet, where the Ionians and Persians were stationed, made the greatest resistance.—Diodor. 11, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 87. 93.

belonged either to his own fleet, or to a Greek deserter from the Persians, he desisted from the pursuit ; while Xerxes, supposing that the ship which she had sunk was an enemy, admired her conduct, exclaiming that his men had conducted themselves like women, and the women like men.

It was towards the end of the action also, that Aristeides, collecting a body of Athenian hoplitæ, many of whom were idle spectators of the combat on the shore of Salamis, passed over into the island of Psyttaleia, and put to death the Persians who had been stationed there by Xerxes<sup>1</sup>.

Psyttaleia, now called Lipsokutáli (Λειψοκουτάλι), is precisely as Æschylus has intimated, low, and unprovided even with such narrow creeks as afforded safety to the small vessels of the ancients. It is rocky, clothed with shrubs, about a mile in length, and not more than two or three hundred yards broad.

On such a narrow strip of land it was impossible for the Persians to find any shelter from the missiles of their assailants, or to resist in close combat, men much better armed for that purpose than themselves. Landing probably on the lee-side of the island, which is always accessible to a descent in moderate weather, the Greeks surrounded this select body of the enemy, and after having slain many with stones and arrows, destroyed the rest in a general assault, which occurred under the eyes of their sovereign, and of myriads of their countrymen on the adjacent shore of Attica.

Pausanias, from whom it appears that the worship of Pan in Psyttaleia had continued to his time, and that wooden statues of the goat-footed deity were still seen in the island, is the only author who has pretended to fix the number of the Persians who fell in Psyttaleia. He states them to have amounted to 400<sup>2</sup>. Of the troops of embarka-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀριστείδης . . . . παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμίνης χώρας, γένος ἰόντες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπίβησι ἄγων, οἱ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησίδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας. Herodot. 8, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Νῆσος δὲ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνός ἐστι καλουμένη Ψυττάλεια· ἐς ταύτην



tion great numbers were drowned from their ignorance of the art of swimming, while the Greeks, accustomed to this exercise from their infancy, easily escaped to Salamis, when their vessels were destroyed.

The losses of the Persian fleet were in great measure caused by its magnitude and by the disproportion of the number of ships to the narrow space in which they fought. When the front of the three lines in which they were drawn up was defeated, it fell upon the ranks behind, at the very moment when the commanders of the latter were anxiously endeavouring to advance and to give proofs of their valour to the king. And thus his presence, by which he had hoped to ensure victory, and to retrieve former disgrace, contributed in no small degree to this new defeat.

Ægina shared with Athens the chief glory of the day; the Æginetans having been particularly fortunate in the position of their vessels at the close of the action. In possession of the eastern end of the strait<sup>1</sup>, they inter-

τῶν Βαρβάρων ὅσον τετρακοσίους ἀποβῆναι λέγουσιν· ἡττωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ναυτικοῦ, καὶ τούτους ἀπολίσθαι φασὶν ἐπιδιαβάντων ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἄγαλμα δὲ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ σὺν τέχνῃ μὲν ἴστιν οὐδέν. Πανὸς δὲ ὡς ἕκαστον ἔτυχε ξόανα πεποιημένα. Pausan. Attic. 361.

Plutarch relates, that among the Persians in Psyttaleia were three children of Sandace, sister of Xerxes : this is not improbable, as it is no more than consistent with oriental manners for princes of a very tender age to be nominally placed in important commands. The same writer adds, upon the authority of Phanias of Lesbos, that the children having been sent to Themistocles, he was prevailed upon by the priest Ecphantides, aided by the popular voice, to slaughter them as a sacrifice to Bacchus Omestes. In the life of Themistocles, Plutarch represents that the children were brought to Themistocles when he was about to sacrifice the usual offerings previous to the battle : in his life of Aristides, on the contrary, he states that they were captured in Psyttaleia during the action. This contradiction, together with the silence of Herodotus, throws strong doubts on this story of Phanias.

<sup>1</sup> ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ. Herodot. 8, 91. The πορθμός of Salamis is often mentioned by ancient authors, and has doubtless in all ages been in the narrowest part of the strait. Diodorus describes it as τὸν πόρον μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ Ἡρακλίου. Ctesias describes it as τὸ στενώτατον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὃ Ἡράκλειον καλεῖται. Concerning the Heracleium see above, p. 34.



cepted and destroyed many of the Barbarian ships, when these retreating in confusion before the Athenians, endeavoured to regain the bay of Phalerum<sup>1</sup>. A great number of the disabled ships were driven by the wind upon the promontory Colias (now Trispýrghi)<sup>2</sup>; nor can it be doubted that many other parts also of the neighbouring coast, particularly of the Munychian peninsula, were covered with wrecks.

Xerxes, alarmed for the consequences of his defeat, and recollecting probably the advice given to him by his uncle Artabanus before he departed from Susa, was now extremely anxious to prevent the Greeks from attempting to cut off his retreat by destroying the bridge over the Hellespont<sup>3</sup>. In order to retain them in the bay of Salamis, whither they had retired with their damaged vessels, he began to build a mole, and united together some Phœnician ships of burthen, as the commencement of a bridge across the strait<sup>4</sup>. At the same time he made ready his fleet as if he had intended to renew the action; and as the Greeks believed that he was still strong enough for the attempt, they were easily persuaded that such was his real intention<sup>5</sup>. In the

<sup>1</sup> ὅπως δὲ τινες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγειν, φερόμενοι ἰστίπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας. Herodot. 8, 91.

<sup>2</sup> Herodot. 8, 96. This place is particularly named by Herodotus for the sake of noticing the accomplishment of a prediction of the Athenian Lysistratus, who foretold that "the women of Colias should dress their provisions with oars." Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἱερεμοῖσι φρύξουσι. See also Strabo, p. 398.

<sup>3</sup> Herodot. 8, 97.

<sup>4</sup> ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπιεῖρτο διαχοῦν γαυλοῦς τε Φοινικηίους συνίδει, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίου ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος. Herodot. l. l. It is scarcely necessary to advert to the testimony of Ctesias, who represents the mole to have been erected previously to the battle: the same author supposes the Greeks to have fought with 700 ships, of which 100 were Athenians, and Mardonius to have been killed in an attempt to plunder Delphi, after having been defeated at Platœa, which battle he imagines to have occurred prior to that of Salamis.

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus represents Themistocles as having again sent his pedagogue

course of a very few days, however, having first advised with Mardonius and Artemisia, who sufficiently understood his sentiments not to offer any thing repugnant to them, he ordered his fleet to depart, and prepared to return to Persia, leaving Mardonius with 300,000 men in Greece to prosecute the contest by land.

As soon as the Greeks were assured of the departure of the Persian fleet, they sailed in pursuit of it; but finding, on arriving at Andrus, that the enemy was not in sight, they determined in council that it would be more prudent to leave the retreating foe in possession of his bridge.

To the traveller who visits the scene of the battle of Salamis, the position of the king of Persia during the action will always be an interesting inquiry. The assembled multitudes on the shore, and the contending fleets in the straits, with which his imagination animates the now silent and desolate scenery, will present an imperfect picture to his mind, until he can satisfy himself with regard to the hill where the monarch was seated on his silver-footed chair<sup>1</sup>, the principal officers of his household standing around him, the imperial parasol held by an attendant over his head<sup>2</sup>, and the scribes by his side, writing down the names of those who had distinguished themselves in the action. It is commonly thought that Xerxes placed himself on the summit

to Xerxes to inform him that the Greeks had this intention, with a view to hasten his departure. Plutarch relates that the message was sent by Artanes, a Persian prisoner. Diodorus is at variance also with Herodotus as to the Persian forces left in Greece under Mardonius, and which he states to have amounted to four instead of three hundred thousand. Diod. 11, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Demosth. in Timocrat. 741, Reiske. Harpocrat. Suid. in *ἀργυρόπους*.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Aristeides is made by Plutarch to describe him (Themist. 16), and thus we see the kings of Persia represented on the sculptures of Persepolis. In like manner the sculptures of Thebes represent some of the victorious kings of Egypt attended by a parasol-bearer and a secretary; but they are seated upon a war-chariot instead of a chair.

of Mount Ægaleos; a position only less improbable than that stated by Acestodorus, who wrote that the Persian king was seated on the top of Kérata, a mountain on the confines of Megaris, five or six miles from the nearest part of the straits of Salamis<sup>1</sup>. The summit of Mount Ægaleos does indeed immediately overhang the strait, so as to command a complete view of it: and if Xerxes had wished to comprehend within the prospect the Saronic gulf, together with a great part of Attica, Megaris, and Corinthia, the summit of the mountain would have been an excellent station; but his object was to be present at the battle, to communicate speedily with the ships, to distinguish each vessel, to observe the conduct of those on board, and to commit the memorials of that conduct to writing. The incident relating to Artemisia, and still more the dispute between the Phœnicians and Ionians, which Xerxes decided while the battle was raging, clearly show that he was very near the scene of action.

The words of Æschylus are too vague to decide this question; but the cotemporary historian, in conformity with reason and probability, informs us that Xerxes sat *under* Mount Ægaleos<sup>2</sup>. The only author who has specified his position more particularly is Phanodemus, who describes it as beyond the Heracleium, near the narrowest part of the straits<sup>3</sup>. A situation sufficiently removed from the shore to give the necessary elevation, and about the middle distance between the two extremities of his line, one of which was near the island Arpathóni, and

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Plutarch. Themist. 13.

<sup>2</sup> "Οκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἰωντοῦ ἔργων τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρεὶ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλεῖται Λιγάλιως, ἀνιπνυθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα· καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Herodot. 8, 90.

<sup>3</sup> "Αμα δ' ἡμέρα Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθῆστο τὸν στόλον ἱποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὥς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἢ βράχει πόρῳ διίργεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἢ νῆσος. Plutarch. Themist. 13.

the other towards the Munychian peninsula, was the point best adapted to the purposes of Xerxes; and as this position is nearly opposite to Psyttaleia, it will accord with the fact of his having been an eye-witness of the destruction of his friends in that island.



## ADDENDA.

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*P.* 23, note 1.—To the authorities, in proof of the maritime situation of Brauron, may be added that of Herodotus, 4, 145. 6, 138.

*P.* 33, note 4.—It has been supposed that the creek of Trapezóna and not the bay of Keratzíni was the port Phoron of Demosthenes and Strabo; but the words, “beyond the limits of your emporium” (Peíraeus), (ἐξω τῶν σημείων τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐμπορίου), which Demosthenes applies to Phoron, are better suited to the bay of Keratzíni, if we may consider the walls mentioned in “the Topography of Athens,” page 400, as belonging to the outworks of the maritime city.

*P.* 35, note 1. For the Attic origin of the name of Troy, see Strabo, p. 604, from whence Stephanus derived his remark (in *Τροία*).

*P.* 49, line 20.—Diodorus (4, 59) supposes Mount Corydallus, and not the Eleusinian Cephissus, to have been the place where Procrustes lay in wait for travellers.

*P.* 54, line 15.—The temple of Ceres Thesmophorus and Core at Halimus, mentioned by Pausanias, is alluded to by Clemens of Alexandria (*Protrept.* p. 10, Sylb.).

*P.* 55, line 3.—The most profitable fishery on the Attic coast, near Zoster, was that of the tunny at Halæ, where was a θυννεῖον, or inclosure in the sea, into which the tunnies were driven. A temple of Apollo, which stood probably on

the adjacent part of Hymettus, was supported by the profits of this fishery. The epithet of the Apollo here worshipped was Κύννιος, Κύνειος, or Κυνήειος, because the temple had been founded by Cynnīs, son of Apollo, and the nymph Parnetheia. Cynnīs was said to have derived his name from having been exposed, when an infant, upon Mount Hymettus by his grandmother Latona, and saved by the *dogs* and shepherds, who heard his cries. The Κυννίδαι were an Attic γένος; by one of whom the priesthood of the Cyneēium was always held. Socrates, Crates, ap. Phot. Lex. in Κύνειος, ap. Suid. in Κυνήειος. Hesych. in Κύννιος. Phot., Hesych. in Κυννίδαι.

P. 71, line 26.—The vicinity of Amphitrope to Thoricus, and its situation in the mining district of Mount Laurium, are evident from an inscription in the British Museum (Boeckh Ins. Gr. No. 162). The mining district, besides the demi Anaphlystus, Besa, Amphitrope, and Thoricus, contained several places which were not demi, as Laureium, Thrasyllum, Maroneia, Aulon. The Κεγχρεῶνες, or Καθαριστήρια, were places where the silver was separated from the ore. See Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 967. 973. 974, Reiske; Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 121; Theophr. ap. Harpocr. in Κεγχρεών; and the inscription above-mentioned, in which Thrasyllum is mentioned.

P. 72, line 22.—The peninsula near Prasīæ, still bearing the name of Κορώνεια, slightly corrupted, answers to the Attic chersonese (χερσόνησος πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν), mentioned by Stephanus in Κορώνεια.

P. 73, line ult.—The name of Dhiony'so-Vuni, attached to the mountain which rises above Kuvará, and not far from Méronda, is obviously ancient, and leads to the belief that it was in the demus of Phlyeia; for we may infer from Pausanias (Attic. 31, 2) that Phlyeia was near Myrrhinus; and we learn from him that Phlyeia contained temples of the Earth and of Apollo; that in the latter the deity was worshipped with the epithet of Dionysodotus, and that a second altar was dedicated to Bacchus Anthius.

*P.* 62, line 11. It is curious that Patroclus, who seems never to have had any connexion with Athens but upon this occasion, should have left his name attached in subsequent ages to an island near Sunium. It arose from his having been a celebrated person in his day, as commanding for several years the most powerful fleet of that time, and from his having established some camp or temporary fortress on the island; which, from the word Πατροκλονήσιος in Stephanus, appears to have been inhabited. There are indeed some remains of a Hellenic fortress on the island. Three or four years before the naval campaign of Patroclus in the Attic seas, he had been noted for putting the poet Sotades into a leaden vase (εἰς μολυβῆν κεραμίδα), and throwing him into the sea at Caunus, for his libels on Ptolemy Philadelphus, and particularly for an offensive verse (preserved by Athenæus) on the king's marriage with his sister Arsinoë. Hegesandrus ap. Athen. 14, 4. p. 621. Cas.

*P.* 134, note 4.—Add the authority of king Philip in his letter (ἀνδρίαντα πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν). Demosth. p. 159, Reiske.

*P.* 183.—In the inscriptions illustrative of the naval affairs of Athens, which have lately been discovered at the Peiræus (see "Topography of Athens," p. 402, note 2, and the Addenda,) there occur the names of upwards of ninety demi. The following passages alone are of any importance in confirmation of the CATALOGUE OF THE DEMI:

Ἀρχέδημος Αὐρί(δης). Boëckh. Urkunden, &c. Inscription II. line 28.

Πάλτων Ἀνακαιεύς. I a 2. X d 110.

Ὀνομακλέους Ἐκάλη(θεν). X b. 132. Ὀνομακλῆς Ἐκάληθεν. X c. 104, 118.

Σπράτων Ἐροιάδης. X c. 106. Φιλοκλέους Ἐροιάδου. XVI b. 197. Φιλόδημος Ἐροιάδης. XVII a. 1.

Ἀντιφάτης Θοραιεύς. X c. 92. Φανόστρατος Θοραιεύς. X d. 146.

These give a new form of the Gentile of Thoræ.

Θεοφάνην Κόπρειον. X d. 106. Εὐθύδικος Κόπρειος. X e. 101. Δέρκιππος Κόπρειος. XIV a. 6, &c.

Φιλοκράτης Ὡθεν. X d. 95.

Κλεόστρατος Ὡθεν. X e. 128. Ναυσικλῆς Ὡθεν. XIII a. 119. Εὐφράνορος Ὡθεν. XIV c. 56. Ναυσικλέους Ὡθεν, *ibid.* 237.

Μένιος Οἰθεν. X d. 55.

Θεόδοτος ἐγ Μυρρῖνούττης. XIII d. 172. 180. XIV c. 150, &c. XVI b, 47, &c. Ἀλκίμαχος ἐγ Μυρρῖ(νούττης) XIV b. 41.

Frequent mention occurs in these inscriptions of citizens of Myrrhinus, and constantly with the Gentile *Μυρρῖνούσιος*; there can scarcely be any further question therefore that Myrrhinus and Myrrhinutta were different places. See above, p. 201.



# INDEX

## TO THE TWO VOLUMES.

- ACADEMY, the, [14](#), [195](#), [197](#), [198](#), [237](#), [430](#). Lysander and Pausanias encamp in it, [421](#). Wall, and Antiquities of, [599](#). Sacred to Minerva, [601](#).  
*Ἀκαδημία*, [197](#).  
 Acamantis, Athenian tribe, [286](#).  
 Acamas, eponymus of a tribe, [116](#). His statue, [115](#); ii. [11](#).  
 Acastus and his horses, painted by Micon, [127](#).  
 Acciajuoli, of Florence, govern Athens, [72](#) seq.  
 Achæan league, [409](#).  
 Acharneis, demus, ii. [35](#), [185](#). Its district, [38](#).  
 Acharnicæ, gate of the Asty, [445](#), [446](#); ii. [38](#).  
 Achelous, altar of, ii. [117](#).  
 Acherdusii, Achradusii, demus, ii. [185](#).  
 Achilles at Scyrus, painting in the Propylæa, [144](#).  
 Acratopotes, [396](#).  
 Acratus, a companion of Bacchus; sculpture representing his face, [111](#).  
 Acratus, agent of Nero, [43](#), [45](#).  
 Acrocorinthus resists Boniface, [69](#). Its fortifications, [310](#).  
 Acropolis, or Cecropian hill, [5](#), [8](#), [142](#), [159](#), [241](#), [269](#), [297](#), [309](#), [313](#), [319](#), [352](#), [449](#). Treasury of, [16](#), [41](#), [82](#), [458](#). Platforms of, [331](#). General description of, [307](#) et seq. Modern defences of, [305](#), [310](#).  
 Acroteria, of Grecian and Roman temples, [212](#) n.  
 Actæa, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).  
 Adeimantus, the Corinthian admiral at Salamis, ii. [171](#), [256](#), &c.  
 Adrastus, heroum of, ii. [32](#).  
 Adrianis, tribe, [239](#).  
 Æacus, temenus of, [489](#).  
 Æacidæ, ii. [167](#).  
 Æantis, Athenian tribe, ii. [13](#), [85](#).  
 Ægeus, eponymus of an Athenian tribe, [1](#), [115](#); ii. [11](#). His statue, [115](#).  
 Αἰδώς, [124](#).  
 Ægaleos, mountain, [205](#), [210](#) n. Divides the plain of Athens from that of Eleusis, ii. [2](#), [139](#), [144](#), [153](#). Torrent from, [8](#). Springs at the foot of, [141](#). Circular Hellenic tower on the summit of, [143](#).  
 Ægeus, reign of, [4](#). Eponymus of a tribe, [116](#); ii. [11](#), [25](#). His statue, [116](#). Heroum of, [489](#). Founds the Delphinium, [133](#) n. Casts himself into the sea, [143](#).  
 Ægicoreis, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).  
 Ægileia, island, ii. [204](#).  
 Ægilieis, demus, ii. [13](#), [53](#), [184](#). Its site, [61](#).  
 Ægina, [10](#), [22](#); ii. [167](#), [168](#).  
 Æginetan school of sculpture, ii. [110](#).  
 Æginetan colony in Salamis, ii. [170](#).  
 Ægospotami, [16](#), [420](#), [597](#).  
 Æschylus, statue of, in the Dionysiac theatre, [139](#). His portrait in the Pæcile, [123](#) n., [139](#). His tragedies, [183](#), [246](#). ii. [171](#). His description of the battle of Salamis, [250](#), [252](#).  
 Æsculapius, temples of, [140](#), [178](#), [292](#), [293](#). ii. [73](#).  
 Æthalidæ, demus, ii. [42](#), [184](#).  
 Æthiopians, arrows of the, ii. [100](#) n. Sculpture of, on a vase at Rhamnus, [106](#) n. Of Meroë, [106](#).  
 Ætolia, [18](#), [67](#).  
 Æxoneis, demus, ii. [53](#), [55](#), [184](#).  
 Αφορισμός, Mount, ii. [78](#).  
 ἀγαλμα, [109](#) n., [279](#), [490](#).  
 Agamemnon and Menelaus, sculpture by Phidias, ii. [107](#).



- Agatharcus, inventor of scenic decoration, [246](#).  
 Ἀγαθή Τύχη, [537](#).  
 Agathon, [520](#).  
 Ageladas, master of Phidias; his statue of Hercules, [163](#).  
 ἀγίλαστος πέτρα, [492](#).  
 Ἀγία Σοφία, [62](#), [481](#).  
 Ἀγία Βαρβάρα, Cape of, ii. [171](#).  
 Ἀγία Τριάς, monastery, ii. [39](#), [125](#).  
 ἄγιον βῆμα, [82 n.](#)  
 Aghiá, Cape, ii. [55](#).  
 Aghyrá, island, ii. [165](#).  
 Agis II., his campaigns, ii. [18](#).  
 Aglaophon, paintings of Alcibiades by, [144 n.](#)  
 Aglaurus. See Agraulus.  
 Ἄγνωστος Θεός, [89 n.](#), [90](#), [91](#), [95](#).  
 Agnusii, demus, ii. [26](#), [44](#), [183](#). Its situation, [74](#).  
 Agora, the Hippodameian, at Peiræus, [383](#), [390](#).  
 Agora of Elis, [29](#).  
 Agora of Athens, [123](#), [215](#), [218](#), [225](#). Propylæum of the New, [22](#), [211](#), [233](#), [258](#).  
 Agora, the Old, at Athens, [14](#), [216](#), [441](#).  
 Agoracritus of Parus, pupil of Phidias, ii. [110 n.](#)  
 Ἀγοραί, [487](#).  
 Agræ, suburb of, [135](#), [281](#). Temple of Ceres in, [250](#). Divided into two parts by the Stadium, [281](#).  
 Agraulium, [252](#)—[268](#), [298](#).  
 Agraulus, daughter of Cecrops, [127](#), [155](#), [205](#), [263](#), [266](#), [298](#), [339](#), [345](#), [539](#).  
 Agrigentum, temple of Jupiter at, [515](#).  
 Agrippa, his theatre called Agrippæum, [26](#), [163](#). Pedestal of, [327](#).  
 Agrolas, one of the Pelasgi, [159 n.](#)  
 Agryleis, two demi, [182](#), [281](#), [282](#); ii. [31](#), [47](#), [183](#).  
 Ἄϊδος κυνέη, [508](#).  
 Aio Merkúrio, church and pass of, ii. [123](#).  
 Ajax, eponymus of an Athenian tribe, [115](#); ii. [12](#). His statue, i. [115](#). Painting of Ajax and Cassandra in the Pœcile, [212](#). His temple and statue at Salamis, [168](#).  
 ἄκτῃ, ii. [1](#).  
 Alalcomenæ, temple of Minerva at, [39 n.](#)  
 Alaric the Goth, at Athens, [52](#).  
 Albanians inhabiting Greece, [77](#), [98](#).  
 Alcamenes, sculptor, [46](#); a pupil of Phidias, [133 n.](#), [275 n.](#) His statue of Juno, [107](#); of Mars, [116](#); of Venus in the Gardens, [133](#); of Bacchus, [137](#); of Hecate Triformis, [530](#); of Procne and Itys, [148](#).  
 Alcibiades, [110 n.](#), [144](#), [213 n.](#), [597](#). Bust of, [261 n.](#)  
 Alcimus, Cape, [378](#), [380 n.](#)  
 Alciphron, ii. [74](#).  
 Alcippe, [539](#).  
 Alcmaeon, house of, [479](#).  
 Alcmaeonidæ, ii. [39](#), [44](#).  
 Alcmena, altar of, [134](#).  
 Alcyoneus bound by Hercules, sculpture in the Theseium, [510](#).  
 Alexander, conquests of, [18](#). His statue at Athens, [118](#).  
 Aleganá, or Leganá Metókhī, ii. [66](#).  
 Alikí (Halæ), ii. [23](#), [24](#), [55](#).  
 Alopecce, demus, [442](#); ii. [184](#). Temple of Venus at, [31](#).  
 Alphabets of Phœnicia, Greece, and Italy, [451](#), [452](#).  
 Alphitopolis Stoa or meal-bazár, erected by Pericles, [382](#).  
 ἄλση, [101](#).  
 Altars of various deities in Athens, [489](#).  
 Amarysia, festival, ii. [41](#).  
 Amasia, native town of Strabo, [32](#).  
 Amaxanteis, demus, ii. [184](#).  
 Amazones, legends of their invasion of Attica, [108 n.](#), [165](#), [232](#), [233](#). Sculptures of, [151](#), [543](#). Paintings of, [121](#), [125](#).  
 Amazoneium, [232](#), [490](#).  
 Ambelákia, village in Salamis, ii. [170](#), [171](#).  
 Ambelókipo, village, [283](#) ii. [31](#).  
 Amelesagoras, Athenian historian, [37 n.](#)  
 Ammonius, his book "on altars," [36 n.](#)  
 Amphiale, promontory, ii. [164](#).  
 Amphiaræus, statue of, at Athens, [116](#). Temple of, in the Oropia, ii. [116](#) seq. Fountain of, [117](#). Baths of, [118 n.](#)  
 Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, king of the Athenians, [2](#). Image of, [111](#).  
 Amphilocheus, son of Amphiaræus, ii. [117](#). His oracle at Mallus, [117 n.](#)  
 Amphipolis, [464](#).  
 Amphitrite, [126](#).  
 Amphitrope, demus, ii. [13](#), [71](#), [184](#), [274](#).  
 Amurath II., sultan, [73](#), [74](#).  
 Anaceium, or temple of the Dioscuri, [12](#), [126](#), [252](#), [261](#), [267](#), [268](#), [269](#), [304](#).  
 Anacreon, statue of, [151](#), [353](#).  
 Anacreis, demus, ii. [185](#).  
 Anagyrasii, demus, ii. [56](#), [184](#).  
 Anaphlystii, demus, ii. [13](#), [25](#), [51](#), [59](#), [185](#).  
 Anávyso, metókhī, ii. [59](#).  
 Anchesmus, mount, [177](#), [204](#), [205](#), [208 n.](#) Identity with Lycabettus, [205](#), [210](#); ii. [6](#).  
 Andocides, on the garrison and defences of Athens, [419 n.](#)  
 ἀνδριάς, [109 n.](#)  
 Androgeus, death of, [366](#). Altar of, [369](#).  
 Andron, Athenian historian, [37 n.](#)  
 Andronicus of Cyrrhus, his Horologium, in the New Agora, [26](#), [190](#), [218](#). See Horologium.  
 Androtion, Athenian historian, [37 n.](#)



- ἀγγι*, 209 n.  
*ἀνέμους, στρούς*, 190.  
 Angele, demus, ii. 76, 183.  
 Anhydrus, or the lesser Hymettus, ii. 3.  
 Ancyleis, demus, ii. 183.  
*ἄνω, κάτω*, 243, 267 n., 361.  
 Antæus and Hercules, sculpture in the Theseium, 503.  
 Antenor, statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton by, 117.  
 Anthemocritus, tomb of, 228, 293. Surmounted by a statue, ii. 134. His death, 150.  
 Anthemion, son of Diphilus, dedication in the Acropolis by, 354.  
 Antigonis, Athenian tribe, 25; ii. 12, 181.  
 Antigonus, king, 25, 118 n.; ii. 32.  
 Antigonus and Demetrius, statues of, in a chariot, 118 n. Tribes named from, ii. 12.  
 Antigonus Gonatas, 406.  
 Antigonus Carystius, 127 n., 205 n.  
 Antinous, statues and pictures of, 28.  
 Antioch, city, noticed by Pausanias, 30.  
 Antiochis, Athenian tribe, ii. 12, 13.  
 Antiochus, eponymus of a tribe, 115; ii. 11. His statue, i. 115.  
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 25, 41 n., 117, 495, 514.  
 Antiope the Amazon, tomb of, 107, 446 n.  
 Antipater places a garrison in Munychia, 404. His death, 405.  
 Antiquities of Athens, modern history of the, 88 seq.  
 Antiquities of Greece, 97, 99, 100, 100 n., 353, et passim.  
 Antisthenes, 134 n.  
 Antonines, state of Athens in their times, 27, 46, 60, 485.  
 Antoninus Pius, 28 n.  
 Antonius, Marcus, 21, 22, 42. Colossal statues of, 349.  
 Apelles, painter, 46.  
 Appellicon, his library, 41.  
 Aphidna, town and demus, ii. 7, 13, 17, 19, 21, 185. Demi of the Aphidnæa, 122.  
 Aphidnus, friend of Theseus, ii. 19.  
 Aphrodite. See Venus.  
 Aphrodisium, Port, 368 n., 373, 376, 381, 392.  
*ἀφύη*, 397 n.  
 Apollo, statue of, 116. Statues of, by Calamis and Leochares, 113; by Eubulides, 110. Cave of, 140, 159, 356. His statue moved to Constantinople, 57.  
 Apollo Alexicacus, 113. Amyclæus, 503 n. Delphinus, 4, 57, 132, 273.  
 Epicurius, 114 n. Lycius, 134. Musagetes, 110. Parnopius, statue of, by Phidias, 151, 353. Patrous, 4, 113, 213 n. Temple of, 113, 242, 299, 572. Statue of, by Euphranor, 113.  
 A. Pythius, 4, 113 n. Temple of, near the Olympieum, 9, 273. Statue of, 132. A. Αγυιεύς, ii. 35. Temple of A. at Prasie, 72. Of A. Delius at Marathon, 99. Of A. Pythius at Cenoë, on the frontier of Boeotia, 99 n., 130. Altar of A. Pæon in the Amphiaræum, 116. Temple of, at Dhafni, in the Sacred Way, 137, 145, 152. Oracle of; see Delphi.  
 Apollodorus, his defence of Perinthus, 596.  
 Apollonieis, demus, ii. 181, 185.  
*ἀποφισκοσυνηγόν*, 54 n.  
 Apostólus, skala of, ii. 10, 113, 114. Torrent near it, 123.  
*ἀποτείχισμα*, 391.  
 Aqueduct of Hadrian, 99, 202, 277.  
 Arabia visited by Pausanias, 29.  
 Araklí, modern village, 42.  
 Araphenii, demus, ii. 23, 24, 76, 185.  
 Aratus, 407, 428.  
*Ἀρβανῖται*, 77.  
 Arcadius, Greek emperor, edicts of, 55, 56.  
 Arcesilaus, picture of Leosthenes and his children in the Peiræus, by, 367.  
 Archedemus, the Nymphæum of, ii. 57.  
 Archelaus, his retreat into Munychia, 410.  
*ἀρχεῖα*, 113 n., 114 n., 115 n., 243.  
 Archeptolemus, 13 n.  
 Archidamus invades Attica, 466, 601 n.; ii. 5, 36, 98.  
 Architecture, Athenian, 96, 103, 104, 513, 528, 573. Remarks on Greek, 334, 336.  
 Archives of Athens, 243.  
*ἀρχεῖα*, 491.  
*ἀρχιτέκτων*, 341 n.  
 Ardettus, ancient Court, 233, 360.  
 Areiopagus, hill and court of justice, 160, 161, 165, 181, 241, 242, 356, 539.  
 Areus, king of Sparta, 406.  
 Argades, Attic tribe, ii. 11.  
 Argaliki, mount, ii. 79, 102. Torrent from, 84, 88, 102. Heracleium at the foot of, 84, 98.  
 Argos, 10. Theatre of, 323.  
*Ἀργυροκοπεῖον*, 490.  
 Ariadne, painting of, in the temple of Bacchus, 138.  
 Ariobarzanes II. repairs the Odeium of Pericles, 26, 129 n.  
 Aristagoras of Miletus, ii. 225 n.  
 Aristides, 7, 459. His sepulchre at Phalerum, 396. His conduct at Marathon, ii. 208, et seq. His choragic dedication and inscription, 185 n.  
 Aristides, his picture of Bacchus, 47 n. *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, ἐν δεξιᾷ*, 324, 325 n.  
 Aristion besieged in Athens by Sylla, 138 n., 154 n., 290.  
 Aristocles, sculptures by, ii. 75 n.  
 Aristogeiton and Harmodius, statues of,



- in the Old Agora, [221](#), [239](#), [241](#), [244](#);  
by Antenor, [117](#); by Critius and  
Nesiotes, [117](#), [147](#) n.
- Aristomachus, heroum of, [489](#).
- Aristophanes, his allusions to Athenian  
topography, [179](#), [190](#) n., [215](#) n., [305](#) n.,  
[347](#), [349](#) n., [350](#) n., [395](#) n., [423](#); ii.  
[64](#), [87](#).
- Aristotle, concerning Hippodamus of  
Miletus, [13](#). Library of, [41](#). His  
disciples, the Peripatetics, [134](#) n.  
Allusions to, [274](#) n.
- Arméni, mount, ii. [124](#) n.
- Arpathóni, island, ii. [165](#).
- Arragon, house of, its dominion in  
Athens, [71](#), [72](#).
- Arrephoræ, [155](#), [156](#) n., [275](#).
- Arsenal of Peiræus, [20](#), [365](#), [392](#).
- Arsinoë, statue of, [118](#), [240](#).
- Art, causes of the perfection of Greek,  
[104](#), [454](#), [455](#).
- Artaphernes, portrait of, in the Pœcile,  
[123](#) n. Stable of the horses of, ii. [93](#),  
[96](#). His command in the expedition  
against Greece, [203](#).
- Artemis, temple of the Thracian, in  
Munychia, [395](#).
- Artemis Eucleia, [119](#) n.
- Artemisia of Halicarnassus, her conduct  
at Salamis, ii. [257](#) seq.
- Artemisium, in Eubœa, ii. [241](#).
- Asbestos or Amiantus, [154](#).
- Ascalus, son of Hymenæus, founder of  
Ascalon, [475](#).
- Asáni, tumuli and ruins near, ii. [48](#), [55](#).
- Asclepieium, [140](#).
- Ashtaroth, or Venus Urania, [120](#) n.
- Asiatic Greece, [31](#), [37](#), [97](#). Conquest  
of, by the Romans, [39](#). Robbed of  
sculptures and statues by order of  
Nero, [43](#), [45](#). Statues transferred  
from thence to Constantinople, [49](#).
- Asine, now Iri, [84](#).
- Aslán Limáni (Port Peiræus), [371](#).
- Asopus, river, ii. [112](#). Mouth of the, [114](#).
- Aspergillifer, a statue by Lycius in the  
Acropolis, [346](#).
- Astarte, or Venus Urania, [120](#) n.
- ἄσπη ἑλαιά, [155](#) n., [339](#) n.
- Astic gate, or Pylon Asticus, [121](#), [253](#),  
[256](#), [257](#) n.
- Asty, walls of the, [225](#), [272](#), [275](#), [432](#)—  
[436](#), [448](#). On the eastern and north-  
eastern side of brick, [436](#) n. Present  
vestiges of them, [225](#), [276](#), [436](#) n.,  
[448](#). Extent and circuit of them,  
[437](#). Repaired by Justinian, [55](#).
- Ἄστροι or Ἀστειῖς, tribe, ii. [12](#).
- Astypalæa, cape, ii. [53](#), [59](#).
- Atalante, island in the strait of Salamis,  
[364](#).
- Ateneis, demus, ii. [185](#).
- Athenæa, festival, in the twelve Attic  
cities, [2](#).
- Athenais, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).
- Ἀθήνησιν, ἐν Ἀθήναις, ii. [43](#) n.
- Ἀθηνᾶς, ἡ ἐπιθία τῆς, [58](#) n.
- Athene. See Minerva.
- Athenian people, statue of, by Lyson,  
[114](#).
- Athenian literature, in the era of the  
Antonines, ii. [82](#) n.
- Athenians retire to Salamis on the Per-  
sian invasion, ii. [149](#). Their ancient  
contest with the Megarenses for that  
island, [168](#). Their preparations against  
the Persians, and battle of Marathon,  
[205](#) seq.
- Athenians, tomb of the, at Marathon, ii.  
[99](#), [100](#). Their generals at Marathon,  
[205](#) seq. The Greek commanders  
at Salamis, [253](#), &c.
- Athens, early history of, [1](#), [5](#), [6](#), [8](#), [172](#).  
Described by Thucydides, [172](#). Taken  
by Xerxes, [11](#), [12](#), [157](#). Rebuilt, [12](#).  
Its population, [618](#)—[623](#). Naval  
power of, [11](#), [16](#), [363](#), [415](#), [464](#). Its  
harbours and triremes, [17](#), [18](#), [231](#),  
[392](#), [395](#) n., [397](#), [398](#), [465](#), [468](#). Mu-  
nychia considered as the maritime  
citadel of, [401](#)—[403](#). Its army and  
the expense of it, [467](#). Annual reve-  
nue of, [17](#) n., [458](#) seq. [465](#). Under  
the government of Demetrius Phale-  
rus, [19](#). Its investment by Philip, son  
of Demetrius, [20](#). Its revolt in the  
reign of Augustus, [22](#). By whom  
plundered of works of art, [40](#), [56](#), [58](#).  
Its sculptures carried to Constantino-  
ple, [48](#), [49](#), [56](#), [57](#). Its splendour in  
the time of the Antonines, [27](#), [60](#).  
Favoured by Constantine the Great,  
[49](#). And by Julian, [50](#). Heathen  
religion and mythology of the Athe-  
nians, [1](#), [35](#), [236](#), [301](#), [452](#); [540](#), [542](#),  
et passim. Pagan rites in its tem-  
ples, until the reign of Theodo-  
sius, [49](#). Menaced by the Goths, [51](#),  
[52](#). Visited by Alaric, [53](#). Escapes  
pillage by Genseric, [54](#). Imperial  
edicts against sacrifices, not enforced  
at, [55](#). Its later Platonic school of  
philosophy, [62](#). Its first bishop Dio-  
nysius, a disciple of St. Paul, [60](#).  
Conversion of its temples into churches  
[60](#)—[62](#). Peaceable demeanour of its  
Christian inhabitants, [61](#). Its mar-  
tyrs, [60](#). Leon Sgurós repulsed from,  
[68](#). Is conferred as a duchy upon Otho  
de la Roche, [69](#). Bishop Michael  
Choniates replaced by a Roman eccle-  
siastic, [69](#). The city reduced to its  
modern limits, [69](#) n. Hugh and Wal-  
ter de Brienne, and Roger Deslau,  
dukes of, [70](#). The duchy of Athens  
and Neópatra an appanage of the  
house of Arragon, [71](#), [72](#). Governed  
by the Florentine family of Acciaju-  
oli, [72](#)—[75](#). Seized by Mehmet the  
Second, [75](#). Captured by Morosini,



- 80—84. Abandoned by the Venetians, [84](#). Its condition, at the termination of the dark ages of Europe, [78](#). Description of, by a Greek of the fifteenth century, [478](#). Unknown to Europe in the sixteenth, [88](#), [94](#). Rivalry with Megara and Ægina, ii. [167](#).
- Athmonceis, demus, ii. [41](#), [183](#).
- Athos, Mount, ii. [203](#), [204](#).
- Atossa, mother of Xerxes, ii. [252](#).
- Attalis, Athenian tribe, [25](#), [239](#); ii. [12](#), [181](#).
- Attalus, king of Pergamus, [20](#). Eponymus of a tribe, [116](#). His statue, [116](#), [485](#). Dedications by him, [348](#), [349](#). Garden of, in the Academy, [602](#). His alliance with the Athenians, ii. [12](#).
- Ἀτθίδες, [36 n.](#)
- Atthis, daughter of Cranaus, [2](#). Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).
- Ἀττικὰ γράμματα, [110](#).
- Attic songs, [117 n.](#), [339 n.](#)
- Attic letters, i. [116](#). ii. [58 n.](#), [178 n.](#)
- Attica, early religious worship of, [2](#). The twelve cities of, [2](#), [4 n.](#), [5](#). Kings of, [3](#), [538](#), [539](#). Homer's allusions to its history, [5](#). Invaded by Xerxes and Mardonius, [9](#), [277](#). Colonies from, established in Italy, [453](#). Modern vernacular language of, [70](#). Silver mines of, [363](#); ii. [3](#), [48](#), [65](#). Geography of, ii. [1](#), et seq. Its mountains, [2—6](#), [65](#), [133](#). Rivers and torrents, [7—10](#), [24](#), [66](#), [71](#), [79](#), [80](#), [112](#), [123](#). Geographical division of, [13](#), [24](#), [77](#). Tribes of, [11](#), [12](#), [183](#) seq. The twelve Ionic cities of, [18—30](#). DEMI of; see DEMI. Fortresses of, [21](#), [37](#), [124](#), [126](#), [132](#). Coast of, [65](#), [67](#), [71](#), [103](#). Woods and Forests of, [104](#).
- Augustus pardons the Athenians, [21—23](#), [213](#). His reign, [514](#). Removes some dedications from the temple at Tegea, [42](#). Propylæum, or portico of, [218](#), [253](#). His policy and government, [42](#), [353](#).
- Auridæ, demus, ii. [185](#).
- Aurora carrying away Cephalus, statues, [111](#).
- Autochthon, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).
- Autolycus, the pancratiast, statue of, by Leochares, [128](#).
- "Axiochus," Platonic dialogue of, [276](#), [277](#), [446](#).
- Azenieis, demus, ii. [183](#). Valley of, [61](#). Bay of, [66](#).
- ἄζονες, [127](#).
- Babin, le père, his description of Athens, [91](#), [92](#), [94](#), [480](#).
- Bacchus, [286](#), [346](#). Temple of, in the Asty, [12](#), [137](#), [173](#), [284](#) seq. Temple of, near the Academy, [361](#). Theatre of, [10](#), [17](#), [137 n.](#), [183](#). Statue of, in the Gigantomachia of the Acropolis, [349](#). In the Asclepieium, [141](#). In the Odeium, [119](#). Painting of, carried to Rome, [47 n.](#) Statue of, by Thymilus, [137](#). Statue of, by Alcamenes, [137](#). Eleuthereus, statue of, [137](#). Sanctuary of B. Melpomenus, [110](#). Orthius, altar of, [488](#). Feast of, and sacrifice of a goat to, ii. [3 n.](#) B. Cissus, [35](#). B. Melpomenus, [35](#). Bacchus instructing Icarius, mythus of, [104](#). Epithets of, [137 n.](#); ii. [137 n.](#)
- βαλανεῖα, [486](#).
- Barathrum, [491](#).
- Barbara, St., cape of, ii. [171](#).
- Basileius, stoa, [111](#), [236—241](#).
- Bate, demus, ii. [185](#).
- Baths at Athens, [484](#), [486](#).
- Batrachius, one of the Ten Courts, [161](#), [360](#).
- Bazár, modern, and ancient Agora compared, [225](#), [487 n.](#)
- βεβαίως κλειστά, [269](#).
- Bei, hamlet, ii. [79](#), [90](#).
- Belbina, island, ii. [53](#), [62](#).
- Bélikas, village, ii. [43](#).
- Bellerophon watering Pegasus, metope, [543](#), [544](#).
- Bellona, statue of, by the sons of Praxiteles, [116](#).
- βῆμα, τὸ, [82 n.](#), [180](#), [517](#).
- Bendis, temple of, or Bendideium, [385](#), [395](#). Festival of the Bendideia, [567](#).
- Berenice, statue of, [118](#), [240](#). Wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. [181](#).
- Berenicidæ, demus, ii. [181](#), [185](#).
- Berisades, statue of, [491](#).
- Besæeis, demus, [494](#), [497](#). ii. [13](#), [66](#), [186](#). Forest of Besa, [66](#).
- Blaute, [491](#).
- Βλάχοι, [77](#).
- Bocarus, or Bocalias, rivulet in Salamis, ii. [169](#).
- Bœotia, its Æolic dialect, ii. [111](#). Its frontier with Attica, [128](#), [129](#). Wars of the Bœotians, [128](#), [129](#). Question as to a demus of, [197](#).
- Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, governs northern Greece, [67](#). Confers the duchy of Athens on Otho de la Roche, [69](#). Invades Eubœa, [69](#), fails before Nauplia and the Acrocorinthus, [69](#).
- Booksellers, Athenian, [487](#).
- Boreas, fabled to have aided the Athenian fleet, [135](#). Sanctuary of, near the Ilissus, [135 n.](#)
- Boy with ballotting vases, picture in the Propylæa, [144](#).
- βουστροφηδόν, [127 n.](#)
- βωμός, [279 n.](#)
- βόθρος, [602](#).
- Brauron, town, ii. [17](#). Demus, [186](#). Its position near Vraóna, [22](#), [24](#), [72](#). Temple of Diana at, [72](#).
- Brauronia, northern district of Paralia, ii. [24](#).



*Βρίεας*, 576.

Brilessus, or Brilettus, mountain of Attica, 210. ii. 4, 78, 104.

Bründsted, chevalier, references to, 86, 537, 543 n.

Brutus and Cassius allied with the Athenians, 21, 118 n. Statues of, 21 n.

Bucoleium, 360.

Budorum, fortress in Salamis, ii. 174.

Budorus, mountain, ii. 173, 174.

Buffaloes of Greece, ii. 94 n.

Buleuterium, or council-house of the Four Hundred, 114, 237, 243.

Bulgarians overrun Greece, 77.

Bull, statue of, in the Acropolis, 147.

Butadæ, pictures of the, 578. Demus, 153; ii. 186.

Butes, altar of, 153, 578. Descendants of, hereditary priests of Minerva and Neptune, 153 n. Head of, proverb relating to it, 122 n.

Buyáti, source of the Cephissus at, ii. 123.

Byzantine historians of the twelfth century, 57, 77.

Cæneus, sculpture of, 511.

Cæsar, C. Julius, pardons the Athenians, 21. Makes donations to Athens, 21, 22, 213. Restores Corinth, 21 n., 28 n.

Cæsar, Lucius, grandson of Augustus, 212 n., 214.

Calades, statue of, 116.

Calamis, sculptor, 46. His statue of Apollo, 113. His Venus Lemna, 145. His Victory without Wings, 532.

Calamites, heroum of, 489.

Calenus, Q. Fufius, sent by Cæsar to Athens, 410.

Callia, fountain, &c. on Mount Hymettus, 283; ii. 9.

Callichorum, a well at Eleusis, ii. 158, 159.

Callias, statue of, 116. Dedication by, 132.

Callicrates, architect of Pericles, 27, 425.

Callimachus, polemarch, portrait of, in the Pœcile, 122. His death at Marathon, ii. 205.

Callimachus, sculptor, 334 n. His golden lamp of Minerva Polias, 154. Inventor of the Corinthian order, 334 n.

Callimachus, poet, ii. 87 n.

Callinicus, son of Antiochus of Commagene, 495, 496.

Callippus, painting of, by Olbiades, 114.

Callirrhoë, statue of, 540. See Enneacrunus.

Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, statue of, in the Acropolis by Deinomenes, 151, 353.

Callistratus, Athenian topographer, 36 n.

Calos, sculptor, 161 n. Tomb of, 140, 288, 295.

Calydonian boar, tusks of the, 42 n.

Cange, Du, History of Constantinople by, 69.

Cantharus, port. 373—376, 400. Its arsenal, 392. Rendered useless by alluvial deposit, ii. 8.

Carinas, Secundus, agent of Nero, 45.

Carpasian flax (Amiantus), 154.

Carpion, his treatise on the Parthenon, 37 n.

Carrey, Jacques, his drawings made at Athens, 92 to 94, 536, 541. Preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, 92. Copies in the British Museum, 92, 541 n.

Carthage taken by the Romans, 21.

Caryatides of the Erechtheium, 87, 342, 343, 577; ii. 162.

Cassander, power of, overthrown, 25. Re-established, 408, 429 n.

Cassandra, painting in the Pœcile of, 122.

Caverns, sacred at Athens, 169, 303, 357, 529.

Cea, island, 22.

Cebria, archonship of, 603.

Cecropia, 5—8, 142, 159, 297—310; ii. 17, 30 n. The territory of, 37. An Attic tribe, ii. 11. See Acropolis.

Cecropidæ, 3.

Cecropis, Attic tribe, ii. 11, 14.

Cecropium, 344, 580.

Cecrops, king of Attica, 1—3. Eponymus of a tribe, 116; ii. 11. His statue, i. 116. Doubts of Sir L. Newton as to, 3 n. Doubts of Pausanias as to, 116 n. Place of sepulture of, 580. Further allusions to, ii. 30 n.

Cedi, demus, ii. 188.

Ceiriadæ, demus, ii. 188.

Celænæ, a synonym of Melænæ, ii. 132 n.

Cemetery, of Athens, ii. 32.

Centaurs. Painting of their combats, 125. Sculptures of the same, 504, 511, 541, 543.

Cepi (Κῆποι), or the Gardens, 133, 274.

Cephale, demus, ii. 76, 180, 188.

Cephalenia, island, 26; ii. 138.

Cephalus, statue of, in the Parthenon, 112, 538.

Cephalus carried off by Aurora, statues, 111. Colony of Cephalenia, ii. 138.

Cephisia, town and demus, ii. 17, 22, 40, 188.

Cephisodorus, tomb of, ii. 135, 141.

Cephisodotus, statues by, 116 n., 367 n.

Cephissus, river of the Athenian plain, 164, 197, 202, 397. Crossed the Long Walls, 418. Plain of the, 211. Bridge and ford of the, 418. Statue of, 540. Sources and course of, ii. 7, 8, 123, 139 seq. Monuments near it, 136. Altar to, 117.

Cephissus, Eleusinian, ii. 11, 139, 149.



154. Ancient mounds against its inundations, 155.  
 Ceramic vases, designs of, &c., 454, 537 n.  
 Ceraueicæ gate, or Dipylum, 224, 227, 594. See Dipylum.  
 Cerameicus, derivation of the name, 111.  
 Cerameicus, inner, 163, 221, 222, 227, 236, 485. Statues in, 21 n., 40, 221. Dromus of, 221, 226, 256. Triple separation of the dromus, 256.  
 Cerameicus, outer, 195, 221, 234, 237, 562, 593—602.  
 Ceramenses, demus, 220, 222, 440, 441; ii. 180, 188.  
 Ceramus, son of Bacchus and Ariadne, 111.  
 Cerata, Mount, and its pass, ii. 154.  
 Cerberus, 503.  
 Cercyon and Theseus, sculpture in the Theseium, 503.  
 Ceres, 3, 483. Temple of, at Phalerum, 12, 368, 397. C. Chlœe, temple of, 142, 302, 304. C. and Proserpine, temple of, 119, 171, 249, 281, 296. Dedication to them, 306. Statues of them and of Iacchus by Praxiteles, 109, 110. C. Euehlous, 304 n. C. Mysia, temple of, ii. 52. C. Thesmophorus, 54. C. and Proserpine, temple in the Sacred Way, 136. C. Temple of, at Eleusis, 159, 162.  
 Cettii, demus, ii. 188.  
 Chabrias, statue of, 491.  
 Charoneia, battle of, 607.  
 Chalceinus and Dætus, mythus of, ii. 138.  
 Chalcidenses and Bœotians defeated by the Athenians, 159.  
 Chalcocondyles, Laonicus, 73.  
 Chalcodon, heroum of, 233, 234.  
 Χαλκεῖα, festival in honour of Vulcan, ii. 42.  
 Champlite, family of, in the Moréa, 68.  
 Chandler, Dr., his travels in Greece, 43 n., 98, 326 n., 341 n., 435 n., 541. Sent to Athens by the Dilettanti society, 97. Topographical observations of, ii. 82 n. 85 n.  
 Charicles, architect, ii. 137 n.  
 Chariot, brazen, dedicated out of the spoils of Eubœa, 159, 348.  
 Charmus, his altar to love, 599.  
 Chastieis, demus, ii. 124, 195.  
 χηλή, 371 n., 372.  
 χιτῶν ποδῆρης, or στάδιος, 132 n., 399, 543.  
 Chærilus, tragic author, 247.  
 Chitonii, doubtful demus, ii. 202.  
 Cholleidæ, demus, ii. 59, 195.  
 Choma, in Peiræus, 392.  
 Choniates, Michael, bishop of Athens, 63.  
 Choragic monuments, 185, 187, 273, 286 n.  
 Choragic inscriptions, 186.  
 Chori, victorious, 185, 187, 284.  
 χωραὶ of Attica, ii. 12, 13, 37 n.  
 χωρίον, χωρία, 274.  
 Christianity, established in Greece, 62.  
 Christians, numerous in the cities of Asia Minor, 49. Edicts to repress their excesses, 59. Of Athens, 61.  
 Chronometrical instruments at Athens, 219, 220.  
 Chrysippus of Soli, statue of, 124.  
 χθόνιοι θεοί, 482 seq.  
 Churches of Athens: The Parthenon, 62, 480. Megáli Panaghía, 92, 239. Panaghía on the Rock, 232. St. John at the Columns, 93. St. Dionysius, 165. Panaghía Spiliótissa, 188. St. George, of Mount Anchesmus, 204. Gorgópiko, 92, 262 n. Aghía Marína, 251.  
 Cicero, M. T., his visit to Athens, 196 n. 602 n.  
 Cilla, ancient temple at, 5 n.  
 Cimon, 7, 14, 424, 460, 529, 533, 597. His public buildings, 13, 14, 125, 456. Dedicates mares of brass, 625.  
 Cimonian wall of the Acropolis, 311, 349, 529, 530.  
 Cicynneis demus, ii. 188.  
 Cippi, or sepulchral columns, ii. 88.  
 Ciriaco of Ancona, his Athenian inscriptions, 88. His MS. in the Barberini palace at Rome, 495.  
 Cissus, an epithet of Bacchus, ii. 35, 36.  
 Cithæron, mountain, ii. 2. The boundary of Attica and Bœotia, 129.  
 Citizenship, right of, in Attica, ii. 12, 14, 180, 181.  
 Claudius, emperor, restores the Cupid of Lysippus to Thespia, 43.  
 Cleidemus, Athenian historian, 37 n., 232, 282.  
 Cleisthenes, 7. His tomb, 595. Increases the number of Attic tribes to ten, ii. 11.  
 Cleodamus, engineer, 51.  
 Cleætas, statue by him in the Acropolis, 148. Flourished in the age of Pericles, ii. 75.  
 Cleomenes, king of Sparta, ii. 129.  
 Cleonæi, the, 595.  
 Clepsydra, spring of water in Athens, 169, 170, 191, 293, 398.  
 Clepsydræ (water-clocks), at Athens, 191, 220.  
 Cnidus, Athenian naval victory at, 16, 17, 368. Three temples of Venus at, 368. Statue of Venus at, 56.  
 Codrus, king of Athens, 135.  
 Cœle, demus, 442; ii. 31, 188.  
 Coins, Greek, 96, 133 n., 170, 187, 472. One representing the Parthenon above the theatre, 187. One representing the Cave of Pan, statue of Minerva Promachus, &c. 170, 350. Of Pheræ



- in Thessaly, ii. [58 n.](#) Of Attica, [65.](#)
- Colias, Cape, 369. This promontory now called *τρεῖς Πύργοι*, ii. [51.](#)
- Coloneis, demus, [219 n.](#), [220 n.](#), ii. [32.](#) [189.](#)
- Colonus Hippeius, or the Sacred, [197.](#) [219.](#) [255.](#) Route from it to Thebes, ii. [152.](#) [153 n.](#)
- Colonus Agoræus, or Misthius, [219.](#) see note, [220 n.](#), [255.](#) [602 n.](#)
- Collytus, coma and demus, 440 to 443. Street of, 446. The demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Colossi of Rhodes, Rome, &c., [129.](#)
- Comæ, or wards, of Athens, 440.
- Commerce and trade of Athens, [214.](#) [382.](#) Of the Agora, [216.](#) Of Greece, 413.
- Comnena, Anna, history written by, [77.](#)
- Conon, [16.](#) 368. Rebuilds the Long Walls, [17.](#) [108.](#) Builds a temple of Venus, 368. Statues of, [112.](#) [148.](#) Monument of, 598.
- Constans, emperor, [50.](#)
- Constantine adorns his capital with works of Grecian art, [48.](#) [57.](#) Named strategus of Athens, [49.](#) Shows favour to the Athenians, [50.](#) His religious creed, 481. State of art in his age, [58.](#) A colossal Apollo from Phrygia converted into a statue of Constantine, [57 n.](#)
- Constantinople, statues removed from Greece and Asia Minor to, [47](#) to [49.](#) [57.](#) [58.](#) Greek literature in the dark ages confined to, [64.](#) Franks destroy the works of art at, [66.](#) [67.](#) Recovered by Michael Palæologus, [69.](#) Acts of the Synod of, [65 n.](#)
- Constantius overthrows some of the pagan temples, [48.](#)
- Conthyleis, demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Cophus, port at Peiræus, 389, 400.
- Coprii, demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Core. See Proserpine.
- Corinth, [10.](#) Its conquest and restoration by the Romans, [21.](#) Small amphitheatre at, [184 n.](#) Taken by the dukes of Athens, [71.](#) Its sources of water, ii. [172 n.](#)
- Corinthians, military enterprises of the, ii. [130.](#) Their share in the sea-fight of Salamis, [171.](#) Epigram in honour of the Corinthians who fell in that battle, [172 n.](#)
- Corsica, visited by Pausanias, [30.](#)
- Corsini, his catalogue of the Demi, ii. [178.](#)
- Kopónεια*, peninsula near Prasîæ, ii. [274.](#)
- Council-house of the Two Hundred. See Buleuterium.
- Corydalleis, demus, 364.
- Corydallus, mount, [205.](#) 364; ii. [3.](#) The demus, [3.](#) [14.](#) [49.](#) [189.](#) Vestiges of a fortress, [49.](#) Passes of, [143.](#)
- Corynetes, 503 [n.](#)
- Cossutius, Roman architect, 514.
- Cothocidæ, demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Cranais, Attic tribe, ii. [11.](#)
- Cranaus, his statue in the Parthenon, 539.
- Craterus, his paintings of comedians in the Pompeium, [108 n.](#)
- Cratinus, comic poet, on the Enneacrusnus and Ilissus, [174.](#) His allusion to Pericles, 461. To the ostracism of Thucydides, 462.
- Creon, ii. [151.](#)
- Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, [3.](#) [159.](#)
- Criocis, demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Critius, joint sculptor of the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, [117.](#) And of Epicharinus, [147 n.](#)
- Crocon, palace of, ii. [139.](#)
- Crommyon, sow of, 503.
- Cronus and Rhea, temple of, [130.](#)
- Cropidæ, demus, ii. [43.](#) [189.](#)
- Crusaders make a partition of Greece, [67.](#)
- Crusius, Martin, professor at Tubingen, author of *Turko-Græcia*, [89.](#) [200.](#)
- Cupid, statue of in bronze, at Thespîæ, by Lysippus, [42.](#) Destroyed by fire at Rome, [44 n.](#) Cupid of Myndus taken to Constantinople, [56.](#) By Thymillus, [137.](#) By Praxiteles, at Thespîæ, [137 n.](#) Sanctuary of Cupid Psithyrus, [142 n.](#), 488. Altar and statue of Love in the Academy, 599, 600.
- Cyameites, temple of, ii. [137.](#) [142.](#)
- Cybele, or the Earth, 482.
- Cycala, demus, ii. [179.](#) [189.](#)
- Cychreia, an ancient name of Salamis, ii. [168.](#)
- Cychreus, reputed son of Neptune, ii. [168.](#) His temple at Salamis, [169.](#) [171.](#)
- Cycloborus, torrent, 492.
- Cyclopes, 456.
- Cyclopiæ masonry, 456.
- Cydnus, slain by Hercules, sculpture in the Acropolis, [157.](#) 503.
- Cydantidæ, demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Cydathenæis, demus, 440, 443; ii. [147.](#) [148 n.](#), [189.](#)
- Cylon, statue of, [157.](#) 585. His usurpation and murder, [160 n.](#), 358 [n.](#) The Cylonium, 358.
- Cynægeirus, portrait of, in the Pæcile, [123 n.](#)
- Cynic philosophers, [134 n.](#)
- Cynnidæ, a *γένος*, ii. [274.](#)
- Cynnis, son of Apollo, ii. [274.](#)
- Cynosarges, [133.](#) [134 n.](#), [274.](#) [276.](#) Its situation, [277.](#) 442. Gate leading to, named the Diomeis, 446.
- Cynosura, promontory of Marathon, ii. [78.](#) [80.](#)
- Cyrteidæ, demus, ii. [189.](#)
- Cyrus, 468 [n.](#)



- Cytherus, town and demus, ii. [17](#), [24](#), [28](#), [189](#).
- Dædalidæ, demus, ii. [42](#), [186](#).
- Dædalus, his flight to Crete, [140](#). His jealousy of Calos, son of Perdix, [140](#), [n](#). Allusions to his works, [154](#). The chair of, [579](#).
- Damaratus, his Corinthian colony at Tarquinia, [453](#).
- Damascius, his life of Isidorus, [62 n](#).
- Damastes, ii. [139 n](#).
- Dárdheza, village, ii. [71](#).
- Datis, portrait of, in the Pæcile, [123 n](#). Commander of the Persian armament against Athens, ii. [203](#).
- Dawkins, and Wood, Messrs., their discovery of inscriptions in Attica, ii. [82](#).
- Deceleia, fortress and demus, ii. [8](#), [17](#), [18](#), [186](#). Near Tatóy, [18](#). Commanded a pass of Mount Parnes, [21](#), [123](#).
- Deigma, or Exchange, [382](#).
- Deine, whirlpool on the coast of Argolis, [483](#).
- Deinomenes, sculptor, [151](#), [353](#).
- Deiradiotæ, demus, ii. [76](#), [186](#).
- Deliastæ, ii. [131](#).
- Delium, now Dhílisi, ii. [112](#), [113](#).
- Delphi, its treasury plundered by Sylla, [41](#). Sculptures and statues at, plundered by Nero, [44](#), [46](#). Dedications from the Persian spoils at, [57 n](#). Statue of Apollo at, [57](#). Temple of, [336](#), [471](#). The Delphic oracle, [3](#), [115](#), [127](#), [134](#), [144](#), [153](#), [310](#), [498](#); ii. [138](#). Mission of the Theoria to, ii. [99 n](#), [127](#), [131](#).
- Delphinium, [132](#). A ναός, or roofed edifice, [273](#).
- Delphinium, one of the Ten Courts, [161](#).
- Delphinium, harbour, ii. [113](#), [115](#).
- δέλται χαλκαῖ, [128 n](#).
- Delus, the Olympieum in, [168 n](#). Treasure deposited in the temple of Apollo at, [459](#), [460](#). The Persians sacrifice on the altars of, ii. [204](#).
- Demades, [491](#).
- Demeter and Core, temple of, ii. [73 n](#).
- Demetrius, Athenian tribe, [25](#); ii. [12](#), [181](#).
- Demetrius of Phalerum, his administration at Athens, [19](#). Is expelled by D. Poliorcetes, [405](#). His statues, [354](#).
- Demetrius Poliorcetes besieges Munychia, [405](#), [429](#). Liberates Athens, [25](#), [405](#). Takes and garrisons Musæum, [239](#), [405](#), [434](#). His statue with his father Antigonus in a chariot, [118 n](#). Eponymus of a tribe, ii. [12](#).
- DEMI. The maritime of Athens, [376](#). Of the Asty, [440 seq](#). Of the Plain of Athens, ii. [31 seq](#). Of the southern shore of Attica, [50 seq](#). Of the eastern districts of Attica [67 seq](#). Of the north-eastern frontier, [122 seq](#). Westward of the plain of Athens, [134 seq](#). On the shore of the Bay of Eleusis, [164](#). Alphabetical Catalogue of the Demi, [177—202](#), [275](#). Not ascertained or doubtful names of demi, [194 seq](#).
- Demiades gate, or Dipylum, [224](#).
- Demeter. See Ceres.
- Demochares, statue of, in the Prytæneum, [128 n](#).
- Democracy, its progress at Athens, [6](#), [8 seq](#). Emblematical painting of, [112](#).
- Demon, Athenian historian, [37 n](#).
- Demophon, king of Athens, [161](#).
- Δῆμος, proper names compounded of, ii. [75 n](#).
- Demosthenes, the orator, statue of, [116](#), [245](#). His mention of the Propylæa, [179](#), [316 n](#). Of the Metroum, [244](#). Of the price of corn, [473](#). His repair of the city walls, [607](#). His ditches at Peiræus, [400 n](#).
- Demosthenes, Athenian commander, [597 n](#).
- Demus, [the people] statue by Leochares of, [368](#).
- Despotate of the West of Greece, [67](#), [70](#).
- Deucalion, deluge of, [131](#). Tomb of, near the Olympieum, [131](#). The reputed founder of that temple, [513](#).
- ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, [324](#), [325 n](#).
- Dexippus, historian and rhetorician, [51 n](#).
- Dhafni, pass of, [196](#), [197](#). Monastery of, [144](#). Temple of Apollo at, [145](#). Torrent in the pass, [153 n](#).
- Dhaskalió, anchorage, ii. [68](#).
- Dhílisi, the ancient Delium, ii. [112](#), [113](#).
- Dhimíko, mountain, ii. [107](#).
- Dhionyso-Vuni, mountain near Kuvará, ii. [374](#).
- Dhrako, (port Peiræus,) [371](#), [399](#), [400](#), [402 n](#).
- Dhrakonéria, salt lake, and ridge, in the Marathonía, ii. [94](#), [95](#). Cavern in Mount D., [96](#).
- Dials, [191](#), [219](#).
- Dervish-agú, village, [202](#).
- Deshayes, M., his visit to Athens, [91](#).
- Deslau, Roger, duke of Athens, [71](#).
- Diacria, ii. [8](#), [30](#), [50](#). Demi of, [17](#), [77](#), [103](#), [121](#).
- Διακρίοι, or Διακρίεις, [12](#).
- Diacris, Attic tribe, [11](#).
- διαμίσου τεῖχος, [423](#), [425](#), [427](#), [431 n](#), [433](#), [465](#).
- Diana and Apollo destroying the children of Niobe, statues of, [140](#).
- Diana Agrotera, temple and statue of, [135](#), [281](#). D. Aristobula, temple of,



- 13, 485. Built by Themistocles, 163.  
 D. Brauronia, sanctuary and statue of, 146, 347. D. Delphinia, 132 n.  
 D. Κερκαῖα, 117 n. Diana or Hecate, peribolus and statue of, 361. D. Leucophryene, statue of, 152, 353.  
 D. Lysizonus, sanctuary of, 488. D. Munychia, temple of, 368, 393.  
 The Thracian D. or Bendis, 395, 396. D. Tauropolis, temple of, at Halæ Araphenides, ii. 23, 72. D. Amarysia, her festival at Athmonum, 41.  
 D. Brauronia, 72. D. Colænia, 73 n. Temple of, at Salamis, 169, 171, 241.  
 δαίχωμα, 521.  
 Dias, Attic tribe, ii. 11.  
 Diipolia, festival, 148 n.  
 Diitrephes, brazen statue of, 145, 346. Basis and inscription, 145 n.  
 Dilettanti society, 97, 341 n. 627.  
 Diocharis, gate of the asty, 280, 445, 446.  
 Diocles, archonship of, 341 n.  
 Diocletian, age of, 47.  
 Diodorus, the topographer, 36 n., 463; ii. 177.  
 Diodotus, sculptor, ii. 110 n.  
 Diomedes with the bow of Philoctetes, picture in the Propylæa, 143.  
 Diomeia, coma, demus, and suburb, 276, 440, 442; ii. 186.  
 Diomeia, gate of the asty, 276, 442, 445, 446; ii. 27.  
 Diomus, son of Collytus, 276, 442.  
 Dionysia, festival, 137 n., 173. At Peiræus, 392.  
 Dionysiac theatre, 10, 17, 26, 28, 137 n. 247. Statues of tragic and comic poets in, 139. Scenic contests in, 284. Its capacity, 189, 520. Dionysiac theatre of Peiræus, 391. Of Munychia, 394.  
 Dionysius, son of Tryphon, topographer of the Demi, ii. 177.  
 Dionysius the Arcopagite, first bishop of Athens, 60.  
 Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, 60.  
 Diphilus, statue of, 491.  
 Dipylum, gate of the asty, 195, 196, 445. Its position, 223, 436; called also the Thriasian gate, 223; the Ceramic gate 224; the Sacred gate, 224, 229, and the Demiades, 224.  
 Dioscuri, (Castor and Pollux,) 2. Their temple called Anaceium, 12, 126 n., 252, 262. Statues of them, 126. Painting of their marriages, by Polygnotus, 126. Statues of their sons, Anaxis and Mnasinous, on horseback, 126. Temple of, at Cephale, ii. 76.  
 Dioscuri, sons of Xenophon, so called, 329.  
 Δισωτηρίον, or sanctuary of Jupiter Soter, 348 n.  
 Dium, city in Macedonia, 38.  
 Domitian, emperor, 23.  
 Dorians, worship of Apollo and Dionysus by them, 2.  
 Drachma, its weight, 471, 473.  
 δράκων, 370 n.; ii. 95 n.  
 δρόμος, 221, 280 n., 443, 485, 493.  
 Drymus, town on Mount Cithæron, ii. 133.  
 Ducas, John, reigns over Epirus and Ætolia, 67.  
 Δούρειος Ίππος, 146 n., 354 n.  
 Durus the horse, brazen colossal figure in the Acropolis, 146, 347.  
 Dykes, ancient, of the Eleusinian Cephissus, ii. 155.  
 Earth, temple of the, 12, 131 n., 161. Mother of Antæus, sculpture of, 503. Imploring Jupiter for showers, statue, 148, 347. Worship of the Earth at Athens, 2, 303, 482. See Tellus, Ceres, and Eumenides. Altars of the terrene deities, ii. 57.  
 Ἐβραιὸν-Καστρον, ii. 107 n.  
 Ecademus, hero, 601 n.  
 Echelidæ, demus, 567; ii. 34, 187.  
 Echelus, statue of, ii. 34.  
 Echelæus, Marathonian hero, painting of, in the Pæcile, 122. Worship of, by the Marathonii, ii. 93, 99.  
 Edicts against paganism and heathen sacrifices, 55.  
 Eetioneia, promontory and fortress, 377, 394.  
 Ἐγριπο, Venetians at, 84. Paleó Ἐγριπο, (Eretria,) ii. 114.  
 Egypt, its influence on Greek art, 454, 455.  
 Eicarieis, demus. See Icarieis.  
 εἰκὼν, 65 n., 109 n., 354.  
 Eilissus, river, 134. See Ilissus.  
 ἱκατόμπεδος ναὸς, 332, 462, 556. ὁδὸς, 387 n.  
 Eitizi, demus. See Itizi.  
 Ἐλατρία, city in Thesprotia, 635.  
 Elæusii, demus, ii. 123, 186, 198.  
 Eleusinian mysteries, 3, 23, 24; ii. 156, 159.  
 Eleusinian mysteries, the lesser, in Agræ, 229.  
 Eleusinian war, 3.  
 Eleusinium, of Athens, 119, 296.  
 Eleusinii, demus, ii. 186.  
 Eleusis, city and demus, 3. Its mystic temple, 15, 19, 461, 528 n., ii. 17. Its position, ii. 154. Existing remains, 160. As a fortress, 21. Sacred procession to its mystic temple, 141. Bay of, 125, 166. Plain of, 149, 150. Its aqueduct and reservoir, 156. Its other sacred edifices and places, 158—161. State of E. during the Roman and Byzantine empires, 156, 157. Present condi-



- tion, [157](#). Brief description of E. by Pausanias, [158](#).
- Eleussa, Attic island, ii. [53](#), [59](#).
- Eleutheræ, vestiges of, ii. [130](#). Road from Athens to, [147](#).
- Eleutherius, stoa, [112](#), [241](#) to [243](#).
- Elgin collection, [87](#), [88](#), 551, &c.
- Elias, St., church of, ii. [143](#).
- Ἑλλάς, ii. [90 n.](#)
- Elpinice, sister of Cimon, [122 n.](#)
- Ἐλýmbo, mount, [261](#).
- Empedo, or Clepsydra, [169](#), [293](#).
- ἐμπόριον, [27 n.](#), 621.
- Endæus, sculptor, [42 n.](#), [152](#), 353.
- Enneacrurus, [93](#), [119](#), [170](#) to [176](#), [237](#), [292](#).
- Enneapylum Pelasgicum, [309 n.](#), [310](#), [318](#), [358](#).
- Epacria, town and demus, ii. [29](#), [105](#).
- Epaminondas at Mantinea, painting of, [113](#).
- ἐπεργάζομαι, ἐπεξεργάζομαι, [109 n.](#)
- Ephebi, oath of the, [267](#).
- Ephesus, temple of, 515.
- Ephialtes, reform of the laws by, 598.
- Epicharinus, statue of, in the Acropolis, by Critius, [146](#), 347. Basis and inscription, [146 n.](#)
- Epidauria, tholus of, [115 n.](#)
- Epidaurus, treasury of, pillaged, [41](#). Statues, &c. at, [46](#).
- Epicephesii, demus, ii. [186](#).
- Epiecidæ, demus, ii. [186](#).
- Epilyceum, one of the Ten Courts, 360.
- Epimenides, 359 [n.](#), 403. Sitting statue of, [119](#), [160 n.](#)
- Epiphanes and Callinicus, sons of Antiochus IV. of Commagene, [166](#), 495.
- Epirus, state of, [6](#), [18](#), [78](#). Governed by John Ducas, [67](#).
- ἐπιστάται, 341 [n.](#)
- Epizelus, portrait of, in the Pœcile, [123 n.](#)
- Epochus, brother of Œnoë, ii. [107](#).
- Eponymi, statues of the, [115](#), [116](#), [242](#).
- ἔρανος, 491.
- Erasinus, river, ii. [10](#), [22](#), [24](#).
- Erchieis, demus, ii. [199](#).
- Erechtheis, Athenian tribe, [6](#).
- Erechtheium, [3](#), [5](#), [86](#), [152](#), 338 to 345, 576 to 592. Rebuilt by Pericles, [15](#), 451. Of the Ionic order, 574. Formed of two temples, the Pandroseium and temple of Polias, [265](#), 340. Its Caryatides, [87 n.](#) Inscriptions, 583 [n.](#), 586—592.
- Erechtheus I. or Erichthonius, reign of, [2](#), [6](#), 538, 539. His daughters sacrificed, [3](#). Victorious in the Eleusinian war, [115](#). Homer's mention of him, [5](#). His institution of sacrifices to Tellus and Ceres, 142 [n.](#) Sacrifices to Erechtheus, [152](#); ii. [11](#).
- Erechtheus II. slays Eumolpus, [3](#), [157](#), [267](#). His brazen statue in the tem-
- nus of Minerva Polias, [157](#). Eponymus of a tribe, [115](#); ii. [11](#). His statue, [i](#), [115](#). His death in the action with Eumolpus and the Thracians, ii. [166](#).
- Eresidæ, demus, ii. [187](#).
- Eretria in Eubœa, [92](#), 395; ii. [113](#), [114](#). Besieged by the Persians, [204](#).
- Eretria, quarter in Athens, 444; ii. [199](#).
- Ericæeis, demus, ii. [187](#).
- ἑρία, 447.
- Erichthonius, [2 n.](#), [3](#), [120](#), [127](#), [205](#), [303](#), 539. A serpent representing him, [149](#), [150 n.](#), [155 n.](#), [205 n.](#), [206 n.](#) See Erechtheus I.
- Eridanus, branch of the Ilissus, [135](#), [282](#). Its source, [283](#); ii. [8](#).
- Erigone, daughter of Icarus, ii. [104](#). Her death, [104 n.](#)
- Erineus, place on the Sacred Way, ii. [139](#).
- Erinnyes. See Semnæ.
- Eriphyle, ii. [117](#).
- Eros, [142 n.](#), 488. Altar and statue of, 601. See Cupid.
- Erymanthian boar, 502.
- Erysichthon, son of Cecrops I. [129](#). Sepulchre of, ii. [72](#).
- Estiæeis, demus, ii. [187](#).
- Ἐτοσί, metókhi, ii. [76](#).
- Etruria, civilisation and power of, 452, 454. Its decline, 453. Etruscan alphabet, 451. Religion, 454.
- Eubœa, colonized by Athenians, [3](#). Its coast opposite to the Oropia, ii. [113](#), [121](#). Persians invade, [204](#).
- Eubulides, sculptor, statues made and dedicated by, [110](#).
- Eubulus, 596.
- Eucleia, temple of, [119](#), [171](#), [251](#).
- Eucleides, archonship of, [110 n.](#), 631; ii. [178 n.](#)
- Eucles, son of Herodes, [213](#), [215 n.](#)
- Eudanemus, altar of, 489.
- Eumenes, stoa of, [288](#). Statue of, 485. Liberality of this prince, [288 n.](#)
- Eumenides, ii. [32](#). See Semnæ.
- ‘Eumenides’ of Æschylus, 357.
- Eumolpus and his Thracians defeated by Erechtheus the Second, [3](#). Brazen image of, in the Acropolis, [157](#). His monument, ii. [139](#). See also [166](#).
- Euonymæis, demus, ii. [187](#).
- Eupatridæ, [298](#), 443.
- Euphranor, his picture of the battle of Mantinea in the stoa Eleutherius, [113](#). His statue of Apollo Patrons, [113](#).
- Eupolis, comedy of, referred to, [304](#).
- Eupyridæ, demus, ii. [43](#), [187](#).
- Eurybiades, the Spartan admiral, at Salamis, ii. [256](#) seq.
- Euripides, monument of, [108](#), [234 n.](#) Statue of, in the Dionysiac theatre, [139](#). His contest for a prize in the



- Dionysiac festival at Peiræus, 391.  
Allusions to his tragedies, [142 n.](#), [217](#), [263 n.](#), [301](#), [302 n.](#), 357, 501; ii. [45](#), [65 n.](#), [99 n.](#), [167 n.](#)
- Euripus, ii. [138](#).
- Eurysaces, monument of, [255 n.](#), 441, 629.
- Eurystheus, king of Mycenæ, ii. [45](#).  
Slain near Marathon, [95](#). Place called "the head of Eurystheus," [96](#).
- Euryte, 539.
- Evagoras, king of Cyprus, [112](#). Statues of, [348 n.](#)
- Evrókastro, ii. [71](#).
- ἑξηγηταί, [234 n.](#)
- Exostracism, [163 n.](#), [245](#).
- Fæsulæ, Pelasgic city, 455.
- Fame, altar of, [124](#).
- Fanári, harbour, 370.
- Fanaroméni, monastery of, in Salamis, ii. [170](#). Ancient remains at and near it, [173](#).
- Fanelli, his account of the Venetian siege, [82 n.](#), [88](#). His plan of Athens, [98](#).
- Fasídhéro, ii. [7](#), [123](#).
- Fates, the, children of Cronus, [133](#).  
See note.
- Fauvel, M. [276](#). His plan of Athens, [437 n.](#) On an inscription of the Marathonian, ii. [89](#).
- Festus, Rufius, proconsul, 355.
- Fig-tree, the sacred, ii. [136](#).
- Finlay, George, Esq., collection of, and inscriptions copied by, [216 n.](#); ii. [7 n.](#), [29 n.](#), [50 n.](#), [73 n.](#), [75 n.](#), [103 n.](#), [121](#). His "Topography of Oropia and Diacria," [115 n.](#), [124 n.](#)
- Fisheries, of Phalerum, 397 n. Of Dhrakonéria, or the lake of Marathon, ii. [94](#), [95](#). Of the tunny at Halæ, [55](#), [273](#).
- 'Fisherman,' Lucian's, referred to, [267](#), [295](#).
- Five Hundred, council-house of the, or Buleuterium, [114](#), [237](#), [243](#).
- Flamininus, Titus Quinctius, his triumph, [38](#).
- Fleva, or Flega, island, ii. [54](#).
- Flints, black, found on the field of Marathon, ii. [100](#), [101 n.](#) Gun-flints, of agate, from Albania, [101 n.](#)
- Fountains. See Clepsydra, Enneacrusus. A Turkish, [171](#), [178](#), [294](#). Of Æsculapius, [178](#). In the cave of Pan, [178](#). In the Erechtheium, 582. On Mount Hymettus, ii. [9](#).
- Fortifications of Athens, [5](#), [8](#), 15—17, 413. Rebuilt by Themistocles, [13](#). Of port Peiræus and the maritime city, [13](#), 397. Of the sea-line, 398. Of Munychia, 401 seq. Of Peiræus, [13](#), 411, 417, 603. Of the closed harbours, 414. Of Ectioncia, 377, 394. The Long Walls, 13—17, 415, &c. Of the Acropolis, [309](#), [310](#). Turkish, [310](#). See Asty, Peiræus, Long Walls, &c.
- Fortresses of Attica, ii. [21](#), [37](#), [124](#), [126](#), [132](#).
- Fortune, temple of, at the Stadium, [195](#). Statue of Good Fortune, in the Prytaneium, [128 n.](#)
- Four Hundred, the, [269](#), 377, 378, 394, 419.
- Fourmont, M., inscriptions copied by, ii. [82 n.](#)
- Frangó Limiónia, creek, ii. [68](#).
- Franks, take Constantinople, [57](#), [67](#). Expelled from thence, [69](#). Their contests for possession of divers parts of Greece, [67](#), [70](#).
- Furies. See Semnæ.
- Gaidharonísi, island, ii. [62](#).
- Galen, ii. [130](#).
- Gallienus, emperor, defeats the Goths, [51](#).
- Games, the great periodical, of Greece, 49.
- Gardens, (Κῆποι,) a quarter and suburb, [133](#), [274](#) seq. On the banks of the Ilissus, [93](#). Market-gardens of Phalerum, 397. Near the Cephissus, ii. [140](#).
- Gargettus, town and demus, ii. [26](#), [27](#), [45](#), [46](#), [186](#).
- Gates of the Asty, 447. See Dipylum, &c. Of maritime Athens, 401.
- Gauls, the, [115](#).
- Geleontes, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).
- Genetyllides, and Venus, temple of, ii. [52](#).
- Genoese, [70](#), [80](#), [102](#). γένος, [144 n.](#), [153 n.](#), 489, 491; ii. [274](#).
- George, St., of Cappadocia, [62](#).
- George, St., mountain of, [202](#), [208](#). Island of, anciently Belbina, ii. [62](#).
- Gephyra, bridge of the Cephissus near Athens, ii. [141](#), [142 n.](#)
- Gephyrismi, ii. [142](#).
- Germanicus, [23](#).
- Gheráki, an inscription found at, ii. [46](#).
- Ghyftó-kastro, ii. [130](#). See Œnoë of Hippothoöntis.
- Giambetti, architect, his drawings of Athens and Sparta, [88](#).
- Gigantomachia, on the wall Notium, [151](#), 348. On the frieze of the Theseum, 505. Allusion to, 570.
- Glyptic and toreutic works of the Greeks, [56](#), [59](#).
- Goat, the vine-destroying, sacrificed, ii. [3 n.](#)
- Gods of the Earth, [161](#), [304](#), 482 seq.
- Gods, sanctuary of all the, [131](#).
- Gods, altar of the Twelve, [162](#), [245](#), [435 n.](#)



- 'Gorgias' of Plato, 423.  
 Gorgippus, statue of, 491.  
 Gorgon, head of the, in the wall Notium, [140](#), [144](#). On the breast of the Minerva of the Parthenon, [149](#).  
 Goths capture Philippopolis, [50](#). Anchor in the Peiræus, [51](#). Are driven thence by Dexippus, [51](#). Are defeated in Mœsia by Claudius Gothicus, [52](#). Overrun Thessaly, [52](#). Under Alaric, march to Athens, [52](#), [53](#). Did not plunder it, [54](#).  
 Graces, three statues by Socrates, [144](#), 345. Sanctuary of the People and, 488. Statues of, in the Academy, 601.  
 γραμματεὺς, 341 n.  
 Grammatikó, village, ii. [122](#).  
 Granicus, battle of the, [38](#) n.  
 γράφω, [109](#) n.  
 Groves, sacred, or ἄλσος, [101](#).  
 Gryllus, son of Xenophon, painting of, by Euphranor, [113](#). Statue of, 329.  
 Gunpowder, effects of this invention in the Acropolis, [76](#), [83](#) n., [87](#), [319](#), 626.  
 Gymnasia. See Cynosarges, Lyceium, Hadrian, Ptolemy.  
 Habron, son of Lycurgus, repair of the Athenian walls during his treasurer-ship, i. 606—617.  
 Hadrian, emperor, initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, [24](#). Archon eponymus, [24](#). Eponymus of a tribe, [116](#). His library and gymnasium, [26](#). His edict for duties on oils, [214](#). Sur-named Olympius, [25](#), [26](#), [129](#), [168](#), [201](#), [202](#) n., 514. His colossal statue in the temple of Jupiter, [202](#). Other statues of him in the peribolus of the temple, [129](#), [130](#), [168](#). Other statues of him, [112](#), [116](#). Athenian edifices erected by him, [131](#), [201](#). Catalogue of his works in his Pantheon at Athens, [260](#). Gymnasium of, [131](#), [132](#) n., [261](#). Stoa of, 258—261. Aqueduct of, [99](#), [202](#), 277. Its inscription, [203](#). Embankments raised by him in the plain of Eleusis, ii. [155](#).  
 Hadrianis, Athenian tribe, [116](#); ii. [12](#).  
 Hadrianopolis, quarter of Athens, [91](#), [168](#), [201](#), [272](#). Gate, or arch of, [168](#), [163](#), [199](#), [271](#). Aqueduct of, [163](#), [202](#), [272](#). State of, in the fifteenth century, [200](#), 478. In the sixteenth century, [89](#). In the seventeenth century, [91](#), [93](#), [176](#), [202](#).  
 Halæ Phalericæ, suburb of Phalerum, 390. H. Æxonides, demus, 390. ii. [23](#), [53](#), [55](#), [184](#). Lagoon of, [55](#). Cape of, [56](#). H. Araphenides, demus, [23](#), [55](#), [184](#).  
 Halimusii, demus, 365; ii. [53](#), [184](#), [273](#).  
 Halipedum, plain, 389, [90](#).  
 Halirrhothius, son of Neptune, [141](#), [160](#), 539.  
 Hamaxitus, or carriage-way on the outside of the Northern Long Wall, 384.  
 Hamaxitus in the plain of Marathon, ii. [95](#).  
 Harma, in Mount Parnes, ii. [99](#) n. Fortress of, [127](#). Pythian lightnings above, [99](#) n., [127](#).  
 Harmodius. See Aristogeiton.  
 Harpalus, his monument to Pythionice, ii. [137](#); see note.  
 Hebe, daughter of Jupiter, [134](#). Stands beside Juno in sculpture, 549.  
 Hecale, demus, ii. [122](#), [186](#). Theseus entertained by Hecale at this place, [122](#). Hecalesia, festival, [123](#).  
 Hecate Triglathena, statue, 492. H. Epipyrgidia, statue, 530.  
 Hecatompædum. See Parthenon.  
 Helene, daughter of Tyndarus, [129](#) n., 601 n., 632; ii. [19](#). Represented in the temple at Rhamnus, [106](#).  
 Helimæ, one of the Ten Courts, [161](#), [243](#). The greatest Athenian tribunal of judicature, 360.  
 Helicon, mount, grove of the Muses on, [29](#), [46](#), [101](#) n.  
 Helicon, high ground near Agræ, [282](#). Altar of Neptune Heliconius, [282](#).  
 Heliiodorus, the topographer, [36](#) n. His work on the Acropolis, 462.  
 Heliiodorus of Halæ, picture in the temple of Minerva of, and tomb of, on the Sacred Way, ii. [135](#).  
 Heliotropium, or polos, [219](#).  
 Hellanicus, Athenian historian, [37](#) n.  
 Hephæsteium, or temple of Vulcan and Minerva, [12](#), [120](#), [153](#), 252—256, 441, 600.  
 Hephæstiadæ, demus, ii. [42](#), [46](#) n., [187](#).  
 Hephæstias, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#), [43](#) n.  
 Heptachalcum, [230](#), 490.  
 Heracles. See Hercules.  
 Ἡρακλῆς γηγενής, [197](#).  
 Heracleia, Theseia converted into, 501.  
 Heracleium of the Tetracomî, ii. [33](#), [34](#), [236](#). Of Hephæstia, ii. [42](#). Of Marathon, ii. [99](#).  
 Heracleidæ, their residence in the Marathonian, ii. [95](#), [98](#).  
 Hercules, worship of, [6](#), [122](#), 441. Altars of, 489. His assistance to Theseus in Epirus, [6](#). His reception at Athens, 442, 501. Labours of, sculptured on the Theseium, [167](#), [502](#), 509, 510. Actions of, sculptured on the Parthenon, 543.  
 Hercules strangling the serpent, statue, [147](#). H., statues of, [116](#), [157](#). Picture of, [122](#). H. Alexicacus, temple of, [163](#), 485. H. Menytes, temple of, 488. Hercules and Hebe, altars of, [134](#). 'Hercules Furens' of Euripides, 501, 502. Worship of, at Marathon, [92](#).  
 Heriææ, gate of the Asty, 445, 447.  
 Hermæ, street of the, 253—256. Three-



- headed, [254 n.](#) Of the gymnasium Ptolemæum, [124](#). The Hipparcheian *Hermæ*, [254](#); ii. [71](#).
- Hermes, worship of, [482](#). Altars of, at the doors of the Athenians, [489](#).
- Hermes Agoræus, brazen statue of, [121](#), [257](#). *H.* with four heads, by Telesarchides, [256](#). *H.* Psychiristes, [142 n.](#), [489](#). Wooden, dedicated by Cecrops, [154](#).
- 'Ερμῆς ἐν' Αἰγυῶσι πύλαις, or 'at the Gate,' [121 n.](#), [133 n.](#)
- Hermione, daughter of Helena, ii. [107](#).
- Hermolychus, statue of, [147](#).
- Hermeli, demus, ii. [142](#), [187](#).
- Hermus, river, [29](#).
- Hermodes, Tib. Cl. Atticus, his public buildings at Athens, [26](#), [28](#), [136](#), [189](#), [193](#). His times, [189 n.](#) Stoa of, [291](#). Sepulchre of, [195](#). His villa, and society at Cephisia, ii. [40](#), [41](#). His inclosure at his demus Marathon still extant, [80](#), seq. His death and interment, [83](#), [84](#). His bust, [88](#).
- \**Ηρῆ*. See *Juno*.
- Herodotus, monument of, in Cœle, [442 n.](#)
- Heroa, or heroic monuments, [234](#), [489](#).
- Heroum of Chalcodon at the Peiraic gate, [108](#), [234](#).
- Herse, daughter of Cecrops, [127](#), [155](#), [205](#), [266](#), [288](#), [339](#), [345](#).
- Hesiod, his *Theogonia*, [22 n.](#), [160](#).
- Hesychus, heroum of, [358](#), [489](#).
- Hiero, his victory over the Tyrrhenian fleet, [453](#).
- Hippades, gate of the Asty, [225](#), [227](#), [230](#), [445—447](#).
- Hipparchus erects *Hermæ*, [254](#). His death, [117](#).
- Hipparchus, office and duties of, [299](#).
- Hippias at Marathon, ii. [204](#).
- Hippocrates, palæstra of, [486](#).
- Hippodamus of Miletus, architect of Peiræus, [13](#), [14](#), [381](#), [383](#). His political writings, [13 n.](#)
- Hippodromiæ of the Panathenæa, [551 n.](#)
- Hippolyta, the Amazon, [446 n.](#), [503](#).
- Hippolyteium, or temple of Venus Hippolyteia, [142 n.](#), [301](#).
- Hippolytus and Phædra, [142 n.](#), [301](#). His death, [301](#).
- Hippolytus, monument of, [141](#), [301](#).
- Hippomenes, archon, [491](#).
- Hippothoön, eponymus of an Athenian tribe, [115](#); ii. [12](#). His statue, i. [115](#).
- Hippothoöntis, Athenian tribe, ii. [13](#), [85](#), [99 n.](#), [129](#).
- Hippotamadae, demus, ii. [188](#).
- Homer, on the history of Erechtheus and of Theseus, [5](#). His poems collected by Peisistratus, [9](#). His Hymn to Minerva cited, [537 n.](#)
- Honey of Mount Hymettus, ii. [48](#).
- Honorius, emperor, his edicts against the heathen religion and temples, [55](#), [56](#).
- Hoplitæ, pay of the Athenian, [466](#), [467](#). Sculptured on the frieze of the temple of Victory, [531](#).
- Hoplitæ, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#).
- Horcomosium, [489](#).
- Horæ, two, [155 n.](#), [584](#). Temple of the Horæ, [488](#).
- Horologium of Andronicus Cyrrhestes, [26](#), [218](#). When built, [190](#). A water-clock, [191](#). Sun-dials on its eight faces, [191](#). An anemoscope, [190](#), [192](#).
- Horsemanship, Athenian, [297 n.](#), [298](#).
- Human sacrifices, practice of, in Greece, [3](#), [4 n.](#)
- Hydriaphoræ, [342 n.](#)
- Hydrussa, Attic island, ii. [53](#), [56](#).
- Hygieia, statue of, in the Propylæa, [145](#), [346](#). Altar to, ii. [117](#).
- Hymettus, Mount, [172](#), [210](#), [283](#); ii. [2](#). Demi of, [47](#), [75](#). Marble of, [47](#), [48 n.](#) Silver mines of, [48](#). Honey of, [48](#).
- Hymettus the lesser, called Anhydrus, ii. [3](#), [48](#).
- Hypæthral temples, [561—563](#).
- Hypata, now Neópatra, [71](#).
- Hyperbæus, one of the Pelasgi, [159 n.](#)
- Hyrcanus, priest and ethnarch of the Jews, [488](#).
- Hyrie, of Homer, ii. [129](#).
- Hysia, anciently an Attic demus, ii. [129](#).
- Hyttenia, district of, ii. [98](#).
- Iacchus, statue of, [109](#), [625](#); ii. [137](#).
- Ianúla, torrent, ii. [11](#), [127](#).
- Iapis, river bounds Eleusis and Megara, ii. [150](#).
- Iaso, daughter of Amphiaræus, ii. [117](#).
- Icarieis, or Eicarieis, demus, ii. [3 n.](#), [85 n.](#), [103](#), [106](#).
- Icarius, mythus of, ii. [103](#), [104](#).
- Icarius, mountain near Marathon, ii. [3 n.](#), [103](#), [104](#).
- Iconoclasts, [64—66](#).
- Ictinus, architect of the Parthenon, [27](#). His treatise on the Parthenon, [37 n.](#)
- Icus, island, [22](#).
- Idolatry, edicts against, [55](#), [56](#), [59](#).
- Ιερά, [109 n.](#), [261 n.](#), [265 n.](#), [266](#), [279 n.](#), [344](#), [488](#).
- Ierotzákaló, village, ii. [103 n.](#)
- Ιέρεια, [247](#).
- Ilissus, river, [134](#), [164](#), [175](#), [240](#), [249](#). An occasional torrent, [176](#), [484](#). Bridge over it near the stadium, [93](#), [195](#). Nymphs of, [484](#). Gardens watered by, [93](#). Canal from it, [175](#). Its vale, [211](#). Sanctuaries of Pan and the Nymphs near it, [483](#). Sources of, near Agryle, [282](#). Its two branches, [282](#). Statue of, in the Parthenon, [540](#). Further description of this river, ii. [8](#).
- Ilithyia, [537](#).



- Ilium, painting of the capture of, in the Pœcile, [122](#).  
 Illyria, prefecture of, [59](#).  
 Immaradus, son of Eumolpus, [116](#), [157](#), 628. Sepulchre of, [297](#).  
 Inói, place near Marathon, ii. [81](#), [85](#), [89](#).  
 Inscriptions at Athens :—At the entrance of the New Agora, [212](#). On the Gate of Hadrianopolis at Athens, [168](#), [199](#), [200](#). On the Aqueduct of Hadrian, [203](#). On the statue of Epicharinus, [146 n.](#) On gate of Marcellinus, [305](#), [306](#). On a monument found in the Stadium, 483. Choric, [185](#), [186 n.](#) On the Choric monument of Lysicrates, [285](#), [286](#). On the pedestal of a statue of Julia Augusta, [214 n.](#) On the monument of Philopappus, 494. Found in the Pnyx, [213 n.](#) In the Collection of Mr. Finlay, [216 n.](#) &c. Relating to the Erechtheum, 341, 583 [n.](#), 586—592. Relating to the Long Walls, 418 [n.](#), 424 [n.](#), 60—617. On the altar of the Twelve Gods, 435 [n.](#) On dedications to Romans in the Acropolis, 355 [n.](#) Recently discovered in the Peiræus, 374 [n.](#) On Tyrrhenian vases, 452. Various, 630, 632; ii. [31](#), [41 n.](#), [46 n.](#), [50 n.](#), [57](#), [74](#), [80](#), [81](#), [82](#), [110](#), [120](#), [146](#), [149](#), [188](#). Addiction of the Athenians to lapidary, [15](#). Their refinements in, [180](#). Giving the names and places of demi, [29 n.](#), [46 n.](#), [73](#), [74](#), [76 n.](#), [148 n.](#)  
 Io, daughter of Inachus, statue of, [151](#), 353.  
 Ioánnina, city, [70](#). Charles Tocco, duke of, [72](#). Ruins of a hierum near, [101 n.](#)  
 Iolaus, altar of, in Cynosarges, [134](#). Sculpture of, in the Theseium, 502. Tradition respecting, ii. [35](#).  
 Ion, son of Creusa, [3](#). His sepulchre at Potamus, ii. [71](#).  
 Ionia, described by Pausanias, [29 n.](#), [30](#), [31](#).  
 Ionians, institutions of the, [4](#), [173](#).  
 Ionic letters, introduction of the four, i. 586; ii. [178 n.](#)  
 Ionidæ, demus, ii. [188](#).  
 Iphicrates, statue of, in the Parthenon, [151](#).  
 Iphigeneia, sacrifice of, [4 n.](#)  
 Iphistiadæ, demus, ii. [46 n.](#), [188](#).  
 Iri, near Nauplia, [85](#).  
 Isidorus, Platonic philosopher at Athens, [62 n.](#)  
 Ismenias of Chalcis, his paintings of Lycurgus son of Lycophron and his family, [153](#).  
 Isocrates, statue of, in the Olympieum, [131](#). Statue of, with three others of the same family, in the Propylæa, 346.  
 Ἰστυμι, [109 n.](#)  
 Isthmian Games, [49](#).  
 Isthmus of Corinth, [200](#). Road from Athens to the, ii. [149](#), [154](#).  
 ἱστορικὸς, 476.  
 Istrus, Athenian historian, [37 n.](#); ii. [153](#); see note.  
 Italian words in modern Greek, [70](#).  
 Italy visited by Pausanias, [30](#). Pelasgic fortresses of, 451, 455. Ancient alphabets of, 451. Mythology of, 452.  
 Itæni, or Eitæni, demus, ii. [188](#).  
 Itoniæ, gate of the Asty, [277](#), 445. Led to Phalerum, 446, 447.  
 Jason, his expedition to Colchis, [126](#).  
 Jason and the Argonauts, picture by Micon of, [126](#).  
 Jesuits at Athens, [91](#).  
 Joppa, in Judæa, [29](#).  
 Juba, statue of, in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, [124](#). Family of, [124 n.](#)  
 Judæa visited by Pausanias, [29](#).  
 Julia Augusta, monument in honour of, [214](#).  
 Julian, emperor, educated at Athens, [50](#).  
 Juno, temple of, on the road to Phalerum, [107](#). Golden throne of, made by Vulcan, [138 n.](#) Her temple in the Stoa of Hadrian, [261](#).  
 Jupiter, early worship of, at Athens, [2](#). Altars of, 489. Sculpture of, on the Theseium, 508. In the Parthenon, 537.  
 Jupiter Agoræus, 489. J. Ammon, temple of, in Libya, [29](#). J. Astrapæus, sanctuary of, [273](#); ii. [127](#). J. Basileus, i. [111 n.](#) J. Bulæus, statue of, [114](#). J. Capitolinus, temple of, at Rome, [40](#). J. Eleutherius, statue of, [112](#). J. Herceius, altar of, in the Pandroseium, 579. J. Hypatus, altar of, before the Erechtheium, [152](#), 578. J. of Olympia, statue of, by Phidias, taken to Constantinople, [56](#). J. Olympius, colossal statue of, at Athens, [129](#). Jupiter, brazen statue of, in the Olympieum, [130](#). J. Panhellenius, [131](#). Temple of, [261](#). J. Polieus, [222 n.](#) Sanctuary and statue of, [148](#), 347. His festival called Diipolia, [148 n.](#) J. Phratrius, 489. J. Soter or Eleutherius, stoa of, [112](#), 367 [n.](#) Temple and statue of, in the Acropolis, 347. Temple of, at Peiræus, 367 [n.](#), 382. J. Morius, or Cataëbates, 601. J. the Supreme, dedications to, in the Pnyx, [213 n.](#), 519. Statue of J., by Leochares, [148](#), 368. Recumbent image of, [56](#). Altar of J. Ctesius, 367 [n.](#) Said to have been the father of Helena, ii. [106](#). J. Meilichius, altar of, [136](#). Titans of the temple of J. at Agrigentum, [162](#).  
 Justice, Athenian courts of, [160](#), [161](#).  
 U 2



- [243](#), [246](#), 356, 360, 375. The ten courts, 359.
- Justinian orders a repair of the walls of Athens, [55](#). His edict against the philosophers of Greece, [62](#). Converts temples into churches, [62](#), [63](#). Introduces silk into Greece, [63](#). Builds the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, [62](#), 481. Bad taste of the edifices of, [63](#).
- Kálamo, village, ii. [7](#), [120](#).
- Kallirhói Hamlet, [93](#), [176](#). River, [176](#).
- Kalo-livádhi, monastery near mount Phelleus, ii. [7](#). Inscription found at, [50 n.](#)
- Kalývia, ii. [151](#).
- Kapandríti, village, ii. [122](#).
- Kará, village, ii. [47](#).
- Karyés monastery, ii. [47](#).
- Katerína Aghía, torrent of the valley of, ii. [66](#).
- Kavásilas, Simeon, [89](#), [200](#).
- κειμαι, [109 n.](#)
- Keratéa, village, ii. [61](#), [73](#). Its mountain, [61](#).
- Keratzíni, harbour, 400; ii. [33 n.](#), [273](#).
- κητος, 375 [n.](#)
- Khaidári, village, ii. [143](#).
- Khalkomatádhēs, village, ii. [42](#).
- Khalkúki, village, ii. [112](#).
- Khamáretos, Leon, [68](#).
- Khassía, village, ii. [38](#), [124](#), [148](#), [151](#). Passes of Mount Parnes near it, [125](#).
- Kinnard, Mr. William, architect, [307 n.](#), [327 n.](#), [331 n.](#)
- Kivisiá, village, ii. [7](#). Monuments found there, [82](#).
- κλειστοί λιμένες, 371 [n.](#), 414.
- Kokhla, village, ii. [75](#).
- Kolónnes, cape, ii. [62](#). See Sunium.
- Κολωνός μίσθιος, or ἀγοραῖος, [219 n.](#), [255](#).
- κῶμαι, 440, 634; ii. [16](#).
- Königsmarck, a Swede, [81](#). Military commander under Morosini, [12](#).
- κωφός λιμὴν, 389 [n.](#)
- Κόραι, αἱ, 343, 577.
- Koráki, or Stavrokoráki, Mount, ii. [79](#), [97](#). Passes of, [96](#). Sources at the foot of, [94](#).
- Korópi, village, ii. [43](#).
- Kotróni, Mount, site of Aphidna, ii. [21](#). A hill in the Marathonía, [79](#), [84](#).
- κουροτρόφος, [142](#), [203 n.](#)
- Kraus, Martin or Crusius, [89](#).
- κρήνη, 393, 394, 526.
- κρηπίς, [192](#).
- κρίος ἀσελγόμενος, 347 [n.](#), 354 [n.](#)
- Kruse, Professor, his testimony as to the Society of Dilettanti, 627.
- κύκλοι, [218 n.](#), 487.
- κύκλος, [217](#), 391, 428, 438 [n.](#) κύκλος Ἀστέος, 433.
- Kulúri, village, gives name to the island of Salamis, ii. [170](#). Church of, [171](#).
- Kúndura, village in the Oneia, ii. [151](#).
- κύρβεις, [128 n.](#)
- Kursalá, or Kursaládhēs, village, ii. [75](#).
- Kuvára, village, ii. [274](#).
- Kyrádhēs islands, ii. [164](#).
- Lacedæmon. See Sparta.
- Lacedæmonians attack the Acropolis, [310](#). In possession of Athens, [16](#), 391, 466. Destroy the Long Walls, and Peiraic wall, and burn the Athenian triremes, 390, 391, 421. Their brazen shields in the Pœcile, [123](#). Their invasions of Attica, ii. [5](#), [150](#). Fortify Deceleia, [18](#).
- Lachares, [41 n.](#), 405, 596.
- Lacida, Lacienses, Lacciada, demus, ii. [31](#), [32](#), [136](#), [141](#), [189](#).
- Lacius, heroum of, ii. [136](#).
- Iaconia in the 13th century, [68](#).
- Lacydes, the sophist, 602.
- Lagoons, ii. [52](#), [55](#), [94](#).
- Lágussa, island, ii. [59](#).
- La Guilletière, spurious travels of, [94](#), [95](#).
- Lamiac war, 367 [n.](#), 428, 597 [n.](#)
- Lamp of Minerva Polias, [139](#), [154](#).
- Lamp before the statue of Vesta in the Prytaneium, [128 n.](#)
- Lampadephoria, 600.
- Lamptreis, two demi, [281](#), ii. [60](#), [189](#).
- Lantern of Demosthenes, [284](#).
- Lapithæ and Centaurs, painting and sculptures of, [125](#), [158](#), 511.
- La Roche, Otho de, duke of Athens, [69](#), [70](#).
- Latin dynasty at Constantinople, [67](#).
- Laurium Mount, silver mines of, 471, ii. [3](#), [65](#), [274](#).
- Λαυριωτική πρόσοδος, [66 n.](#)
- Laws of Theseus, [5](#). Of Solon, [6](#). Upper and lower laws, [8 n.](#), [127 n.](#) Of Calades, [116](#). Respecting murder and homicide, [160](#) to [162](#).
- Leccum, demus, ii. [173](#), [190](#).
- Leda, ii. [106](#).
- Legraná or Alegraná metókhi, ii. [66](#).
- Leipsydrium, fortress, ii. [39](#), [124](#).
- Lemnus, island, [159](#).
- Lenæum, or temple of Bacchus in Limnis, [137](#), [284](#), [287](#), 628. Its Propylæum, [280](#).
- Leo the Isaurian, emperor, [64](#), [65](#).
- Leochares, sculptor, his works, [113](#), [128 n.](#), [148](#), 368.
- Leocorium, monument in the Cerameicus, [162](#).
- Leos, eponymus of a tribe, [115](#); ii. [11](#). His statue, [115](#).
- Leos of Agnus, ii. [26](#), [44](#), [74](#).
- Leosthenes, victories of, 367 [n.](#) Picture of L. and his children by Arcesilaus



- in the Peiræus, 367. Slain in the siege of Lamia, 367, 368 *n.*, 597.
- Lepsina, village, *ii.* [150](#).
- Le Roy, M., architect, his work on Athens, [96 n.](#)
- Λείσσαι, 486, 487.
- Λήθης βωμός, 340 *n.*
- Letters introduced into Greece, 450 seq. Into Italy, 451 seq.
- Leucippus, daughters of, [126](#).
- Leuconoeis, demus, *ii.* [190](#).
- Leucopyra, demus, *ii.* [179](#), [190](#).
- Leuctra, battle of, 596.
- Literature, Greek, during the dark ages, [64](#). Its revival in the twelfth century, [77](#). See also, *ii.* [173 n.](#), [180](#).
- Library of Peisistratus, [9](#), [51 n.](#) Of Apellicon, [41](#). Of the Pantheon, [131](#), [132 n.](#), [260](#).
- Libya, visited by Pausanias, [29](#). Mythology of, [120](#). The dynasty of Juba in, [124](#).
- Libys, brother of Lysander, 387, 390.
- Limnæ of Athens, [275](#), [288](#), 445; *ii.* [200](#).
- Limone, daughter of Hippomenes, 491.
- Λίμου πεδίου, 486.
- Lindus, statue of Minerva at, [56](#).
- Lioness by Iphicrates, [144](#), [145 n.](#), 345.
- Lions of marble found in Attica, 371; *ii.* [55](#). Those removed to Venice, *i.* 371.
- Liósia, village, in the Aphidnæa, *ii.* [123](#).
- λίθος, [6](#), [180 n.](#), 517. ἀργοὶ λίθοι, *ii.* [147 n.](#)
- Livádhi, marsh and harbour, *ii.* [72](#).
- Locrus of Paros, his statue of Minerva, [116](#).
- Lollianus, L. Egnatius Victor, sophist and rhetorician, 355 *n.*
- Long Rocks, near the grotto of Apollo and Pan, [263](#), [265](#).
- Long Walls, [15](#), [231](#), 365, 399, 411, 415 seq. Their direction, 418. Inscription relating to their repair, 606 seq. Third Long Wall, 422—426. Destruction and rebuilding of the Long Walls, [16](#), [17](#), 365, 421. To what extent ruined by Lysander, 390.
- Louis XIV., his missions of artists and antiquaries to the Levant, [96](#).
- Love, temple of, at Thespiae, [137 n.](#) Altar of, at Athens, 599. Statue of, 600. Pictures of, [133 n.](#)
- Lucian, illustrated, [181](#), [227](#), [254](#), [267](#), [295](#), 628; *ii.* [84](#).
- Lucina, temple of, [129](#), [272](#), [273](#). Draped wooden images of, [129](#).
- Lucullus transported statues to Rome, [39 n.](#), [40](#), [46 n.](#)
- λύκος, λύκη, [209 n.](#)
- Lusieis, demus, *ii.* [190](#).
- Lustration, *ii.* [117](#), [136](#).
- Lycabettus, Mount, [204](#) seq. 437. Streams from, [197](#). Dry and barren, [209](#); but partly surrounded with olives, [210](#). Attic mythus respecting it, [205](#); *ii.* [27](#).
- Lyceium, gymnasium, [15](#), [17](#), [233](#), [274](#). Sacred to Apollo Lycius, [134](#). Archives of the Polemarch kept in the, 491.
- Lycius, son of Myron, his statue called the Aspergillifer in the Acropolis, [146](#), 346.
- Lycomidæ, a γένος, [144 n.](#)
- Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, [10 n.](#), [17](#). Completes the Dionysiac theatre, [10](#), 599. Restores the comic drama, [10 n.](#) Erects statues to the tragic poets in the theatre, [139 n.](#) Constructs the stadium, [192](#). Improves the Lyceium, [17](#), [134 n.](#), [278](#), 599 *n.* 629. Decree and inscription in his honour, [134 n.](#) Arsenal of, a modern name for the Propylæa, [76 n.](#) Picture of him and his family by Ismenias in the Acropolis, [153 n.](#) Statue in brass of, [116](#), [216](#), [222](#). Statues in the Agora of him and his three sons, by the sons of Praxiteles, [153 n.](#) Monument of, 598. Wooden images of him and his family in the Erechtheum, 586. Allusions to him, 606.
- Lycus, son of Pandion, [134](#); *ii.* [25](#).
- Lydia, emigrations from, 454, 475.
- Lysander, his actions before Peiræus, 387, 389. See Lacedæmonians.
- Lysicrates, Choragic monument of, [187](#), [273](#), [285 n.](#), [290](#).
- Lysimacha, statue of, in the Acropolis, [156](#).
- Lysimachus, statue of, in the Odeium, [118](#), [240](#).
- Lysippus, [46](#). His brazen Cupid at Thespiae, [42](#). His brazen statue of Socrates, [108 n.](#) His satyrs, 625.
- Lyson, sculptor, [144](#).
- Macaria, fountain, *ii.* [93](#), [95](#).
- Macartatus and Melanopus, pillar and sculpture of, 595.
- Macedonia, increasing power of, [18](#), [24](#). Visited by Pausanias, [30](#). Gold coins of, [38](#). Kings of, [239](#), [240](#). Their statues at Athens, [118](#). Coins of, 472. Chief modern towns of, [78](#).
- Macedonians, effect of their conquests in Egypt and Asia, [18](#). Garrison the fortresses of Athens, [19](#), 403 seq. 428, 596. Retire from them, 406, 428. See Alexander, Philip, Leosthenes, &c.
- Macra Stoa, [255](#), 368, 382.
- Macris, or island of Helena, *ii.* [66](#).
- Μαγύλα, *ii.* [150](#).
- μάκραι πέτραι, [263](#), [265](#).
- μάκρον τεῖχος, 414 *n.*, 419, τὸ Νότιον, 425, 428, τὸ Φαληρικόν, τὸ Φαληρόνδε, [421](#), [423](#), τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ, 422.
- Magnesia ad Sipylum, [29](#). Magnesia ad Mæandrum, [152](#). Worship of Diana Leucophryene at, [152](#). Tomb of Themistocles at, 379 *n.*



- Mahomet II., his conquests in Greece, [74](#), [75](#).
- Malakássa, village, ii. [123](#), [124](#).
- μάνδρα τῆς γραιάς*, ruins in the Marathon, ii. [80](#).
- Mantineia, picture of the battle of, in the Pæcile, [113](#).
- Marathon, worship of the hero, ii. [92](#). His altar, [99](#).
- Marathon, battle of, [10](#), [21](#). Painting of it in the Pæcile, [14](#), [122](#), 628. Sculpture of it on the wall Notium, [151](#). Heracleium of, [277](#). Town, ii. [77](#). Demus, [77](#), [190](#). Description by Pausanias, [92](#). Its plains, [7](#), [84](#), [102](#). River, [10](#), [79](#), [84](#), [85](#), [94](#), [124](#). *ἐν τῷ Μαραθῶνι*, [78](#) n., [95](#). Lakes or marshes, [88](#), [94](#). Its fountain Macaria, [93](#), [95](#). Tetrapolis of the Marathon, [13](#), [17](#), [77](#), [78](#) n., [85](#), [87](#), [90](#), [98](#). Passes of, [79](#), [103](#), [107](#). Battle of the Argives and Eurystheus in the M. [95](#). Of the Athenians and Persians, [97](#), 203 seq. Monuments of the M. [97](#), [99](#), [103](#).
- Marathóna, modern village, ii. [79](#), [89](#).
- Marathonian bull, ii. [123](#).
- Marathonian forest, ii. [103](#), [104](#).
- Marathonii, worship Echelæus, and Hercules, ii. [93](#), [98](#).
- Marble of Mount Pentelicum. Of Hymettus near Karyés, or *Καρυαίς*, and ancient quarries, ii. [47](#), [48](#) n. Of Sunium and its vicinity, [64](#).
- Marcellinus, Flavius Septimius, Roman flamen, [305](#). Gate of, [305](#) seq., [319](#).
- Marcellus conquers Syracuse, [38](#).
- Marcellus, M. Claudius, his monument in the Academy, 427.
- Marcus Aurelius, initiated in the mysteries at Eleusis, [24](#). Bust of, ii. [98](#).
- Mardonius, scymetar of, in the Erechtheium, [154](#) n. Retreat of, 433; ii. [18](#), [123](#).
- Marinus, later Platonist, [62](#) n. His life of Proclus, [62](#) n., 207 n.
- Maritime Athens, its demi, 376. Fortifications, 397—400. Gates, 401.
- Markópulo of Mesogæa, ii. [74](#), [75](#). Of Oropia, [112](#), [120](#).
- Mars, slays Halirrhotius, [141](#), 539. Accused by Neptune before the twelve gods, 539. Tried in the Areiopagus, [159](#). Temple of, [12](#), [116](#), [242](#). Statue of, by Alcamenes, [116](#). Hill of, [241](#), 356. Temple of, at the promontory Sciradium, in Salamis, ii. [172](#).
- Marsyas, statue in the Acropolis of Minerva punishing, [147](#).
- Marúsi, village, ii. [41](#).
- Masistius, breast-plate of, [154](#).
- Masonry of the Greeks, [258](#), 302; ii. [63](#), [110](#), [138](#), [144](#), [147](#). Pelasgic, i. 451, 455, 456. Cyclopian, 456.
- Mavro-Dhíliissi, ii. [119](#), [120](#).
- Mavronóro, a branch of Mount Brilessus, ii. [79](#).
- Mavro-Vuni, the ancient Anhydrus, ii. [3](#).
- Medes, their sepulture at Marathon, ii. [93](#), [99](#). See Persians.
- Medusa, slain by Perseus, statue by Myron in the Acropolis, [146](#). Head of, [140](#). See Gorgon.
- Megalopolis, temple of Ceres at, ii. [162](#).
- Megara, city, ii. [167](#). Port of, [174](#).
- Megarenses, ii. [134](#), 150, [168](#), [172](#).
- Megaric strait, ii. [173](#), [174](#).
- Melænæ, demus, ii. [132](#), [190](#).
- Melanippus, son of Theseus, monument of, 441, 444, 486.
- Melanopus. See Macartatus.
- Melanthus, his combat with Xanthus, ii. [132](#).
- Melesandrus, tomb of, 595.
- Melissenós, family of, rule in Messenia, [68](#).
- Melite, a wife of Hercules, 441, 444.
- Melite, coma and demus, [163](#), 440, 441, 444, 485; ii. [190](#).
- Μελιτείων οἶκος*, 416, 486.
- Melitides, gate of the Asty, [147](#), 441—446.
- Memmius Regulus, [44](#) n.
- Menander, tomb of, [108](#), [234](#) n. His statue in the Dionysiæ theatre, [139](#). Fragment of, ii. [127](#).
- Menelaus, sculpture of, at Rhamnus, ii. [107](#).
- Menestheus, [146](#), 366.
- Menídhí, village, ii. [8](#), [38](#).
- Mercurius, St., church and pass of, ii. [123](#).
- Mercury, gymnasium of, [110](#). Bronze, of the Payne-Knight collection, [59](#) n. Statues of, see Hermæ.
- Mercury Amyetus, statue of, 354, Propylæus, 345. See Hermes.
- Méronda, village and mountain, ii. [73](#).
- Mesogæa, Attic tribe, ii. [11](#); a division of Attica, ii. [2](#), [28](#), [73](#). Demi of, [16](#), [50](#), [73](#).
- Μεσόγαιοι*, or *Μεσογαίαις*, [12](#).
- Metageitnia, festival, 442 n.
- Metellus, Quintus Cæcilius, [38](#), [40](#).
- Meticheium, one of the Ten Courts, 360, 490.
- Metæci of Athens, [37](#) n., [342](#) n., 484, 489.
- Meton, astronomer, 209. His cycle of nineteen years, [219](#). His chronometer on the Colonus Agoræus, [219](#), [220](#). His house near the Pæcile, [220](#). Mentioned by Aristophanes, [219](#) n.
- Metronomí, [246](#).
- Metropítzi, village, ii. [71](#).
- Metroum, [114](#), [237](#), [242](#), [244](#).
- Meursius, 625. His catalogue of the Demi, ii. [177](#).
- Micon, painter and sculptor, his mural



- paintings in the public edifices of Athens, [14](#), [46](#). His picture of the Athenians and Amazons in the Pœcile, [121](#), [122 n.](#) Of the Centaurs and Lapithæ in the Theseium, [125](#). Of Jason and the Argonauts in the Anaceium, [126](#). His sculptures in the Theseium, 503 seq.
- Milósi, village, ii. [122](#).
- Miltiades, portrait of, in the Pœcile, [122](#), [132 n.](#) 628. Statue of, in the Prytaneium, [128](#). Dedicates a statue of Pan, [170](#). Palace of, a [modern](#) name, 479. Conduct of, at Marathon, ii. [205](#) seq. His monument at M. [92](#), [101](#).
- Minerva, early worship of, in Attica, [2](#), [3](#). Her birth, [147](#), [148](#), 336, 536. Her blue eyes, [120](#). Her contention with Neptune, [153](#), 336, 583. Produces the olive, [155](#), 338, 344, 538. Actions of, sculptured on the eastern front of the Parthenon, 542. Vision of, deters Alaric from attacking Athens, [53](#).
- Minerva Alea, temple of, at Tegea, [42](#).
- M. Archegetis, dedication to, [212](#), [213](#). M. Agoræa, [213](#). M. Areia, altar of, [160](#). M. Bulæa, sanctuary of, [114 n.](#) M. producing the olive tree, statue, 347, 538. M. Gigantophontis, metopes, 543. M. Hygieia, statue of, [145](#), 345, 631. M. Ætonia, temples of, [101 n.](#) M. Lemnia, statue of, [159](#). M. of [Lindus](#), [56](#). M. Victoria, 530. M. Pæonia, statue of, [110](#). M. statue of, at Alalcomenæ, [39 n.](#) Ancient statue of, by Endæus, 353. M. and Jupiter, sacred inclosure of, in Peiræus, 367. M. Polias, temple of, [154](#), 338, 340, 344, 352, 628. Rebuilt by a vote of the people, 575, 578, 586. Sacred olive-tree of, [155](#), 338, 344, 574, 601. Wooden statue of, [153](#), [340](#). M. Sciras, temple of, at Phalerum, 368, 397. M. Παρθένος, temple of, or Parthenon, [41 n.](#), [149](#) seq., [158 n.](#), 459. M. Promachus, colossal statue of, [54](#), [158](#), [265](#), 349, 350, 631. M. punishing Marsyas, statue of, [147](#), 347. M. statue of, in the temple of Vulcan, [120](#). Peplus of, [156](#), [298](#), 564, 635. Painting of, in the Pœcile, [122](#), 570. Her double character, 554. Sanctuary of, in the Academy, 601. M. Hellotis, temple of, ii. [88](#), [102](#). Altars of M. Hippiæ, [32](#), [35](#). Of M. Pæonia, [117](#). Temples of M. Pallenis, [44](#), [45](#). Of M. Sunias, [63](#). Of M. Sciras, at Phalerum, [135](#), and in Salamis, [172](#). Of M. Propylæa, at Eleusis, [161](#).
- Minos, king of Crete, [4](#), 366 n. Painting of, in the Theseium, [125](#).
- Minos, king of Megara, [134](#).
- Minotaur, contest of Theseus with the, statues in the Acropolis, [147](#), Sculpture in the Parthenon, 543.
- Mint of Athens, 490.
- Misosporétissa, church in the Marathon, ii. [103](#).
- Mistrá, modern town of Laconia, [77](#), [102](#).
- Mithradates, 601. In alliance with the Athenians against the Romans, [20](#), 410.
- μνᾶμα, [109 n.](#)
- Mnemosyne, statue of, [110](#).
- Mnesicles, architect of the Propylæa, [27](#), 345.
- Mnesimache and her son, statues of, ii. [136](#).
- Mnesitheus, physician, tomb of, ii. [136](#).
- Modesty, altar of, [124](#).
- μοῖραι, ii. [30 n.](#)
- Molossus, tomb of, ii. [135](#), see note.
- Molpadia the Amazon, tomb of, [107](#), [108 n.](#), 446 n.
- Monastery, at the bridge of the Stadium, destroyed, [93](#). Of the Holy Trinity on Mount Parnes, ii. [39](#), [125](#). Of Fanaroméni in Salamis, [173](#).
- Monetary system of the Athenians, 471 seq.
- Monuments of the outer Cerameicus, 593. Of the Sacred Way, ii. [134](#) seq.
- Moræa, allotted to the Venetians in 1204, [67](#). But ineffectually, [68](#). Greek despots of, [73](#). Conquest of, by the Venetians, [80](#).
- Moræ, or sacred olive-trees, 601.
- Morosini, Francesco, commander of the Venetians against Athens, 80—85. See Athens.
- Mosques at Athens, [62 n.](#), [75](#), [293](#).
- Mother of the Gods, temple of, and statue by Phidias, [114](#), 627. See Metroum.
- Mountains of Attica, ii. 2—6, [123](#), [124](#).
- Mueller, K. O. his extract of a MS. description of Athens in the fifteenth century, 478—480. De Munimentis Athenarum, 606 seq.
- Mullet, red, ii. [55 n.](#)
- Mummius, conquers Achaia, [38](#), [39 n.](#) Destroys Corinth, [21 n.](#), [28 n.](#) Triumphs at Rome, [40](#).
- Munychia, harbour, town, and peninsula of, 364, 368, 370, 373, 376, 386. Fortifications of, 401 seq. Acropolis of, 402 n., 633. Siege of, by Demetrius, 428. Route from, to Athens, [231](#). The Munychian gate of the Asty, 445, 447. Temple of Diana M., 368, 393. Theatre of, 394, 395 n. Temple of Bendis at, 395. Venetian camp at, [84](#). Occupation of M. by the Macedonians, 403; ii. [168](#).
- Murát II., Ottoman sultan, [73](#), [74](#).
- Musæ Eilissides, altar of, [135](#).



- Musæus, picture of, in the Propylæa, [144](#).
- Musæus, monument of, 397. His hymn to Ceres, [144 n.](#)
- Muses, statues of the Heliconian, removed to Constantinople, [57](#). Temple of, built by Xenophon, 601.
- Museum, hill, [166](#), [239](#), 397, 443. Fortified by Demetrius, 405, 406, 434. Hollow between it and Pnyx, 228—[232](#), 446, 447. Ancient excavations of, 432.
- Mycenæ, walls of, 455.
- Myrmex, hero, 444. Street of Athens so named, 444.
- Myron, sculptor, [46](#), 625, 628. His Perseus slaying Medusa, [146](#), 346.
- Music contests, 391. See Dionysiac Theatre.
- Myrrhinusii, demus, ii. [13](#), [73](#), [190](#), [276](#).
- Mys, sculptor, [158](#).
- Mysia, lagoon, ii. [52](#).
- Myúpoli, (ruins of Eleutheræ,) ii. [130](#).
- ναός*, [109 n.](#)
- Nauplius, sons of, [143](#).
- Nausicaa, and Ulysses, picture of, in the Propylæa, [144](#).
- Nausithous and Phæax, monuments of, 369 [n.](#)
- Navy of Athens, [11](#), [16](#), 363, 399, 415, 464, 632; ii. [252](#).
- Naxos, island, ii. [204](#).
- Neith, Egyptian goddess, the same as Minerva, [2](#).
- Nemesis, temple of, at Rhamnus, ii. [65](#), [83 n.](#), [105](#) seq. Colossal statue of N., [106](#), 627. Head of it, in the B. Museum, [108 n.](#) Sculptures in relief on the basis, [106](#). Remaining fragments of them, [109](#).
- Neópatra, duchy of Athens and, [71](#).
- νεώρια*, 373 [n.](#), 374.
- νεώσοικοι*, *νηῶν οἶκοι*, 366 [n.](#), 374, 633.
- Neptune or Poseidon, worship of, by the Pelasgi, &c., [2](#), [4 n.](#) His accusation of Mars, 539. Rivers subject to, 540. His contest with Minerva for the Attic land, [153](#), 583. Statues of the contest, [148](#), [149](#), 336, 538. Neptune hurling his trident at Polybotes, statue, [110](#). Sculpture in the Theseium, 508, 509. N. and Tritonis, [120](#). N. Erechtheus, altar of, 578. N. Heliconius, his altar, [282](#). Altar of N., in the temple of Minerva Polias, [152](#), [153 n.](#), 340. N. Hippius, temple of, ii. [32](#). Altar of Neptune at Sunium, [64](#).
- Nero, emperor, removes works of Grecian art to Rome, [43](#), [46](#). Confers favours on Greece, [45](#). At Corinth, [45](#). Afraid of visiting Athens as the abode of the Furies, [45](#).
- Nerva, emperor, [24](#).
- Nesiotes, sculptor, [117 n.](#), [147 n.](#) See Critius.
- Newton, Sir Isaac, his Greek chronology, [3 n.](#)
- Nicanor, 407.
- Nicandrus of Thyateira, topographer of the demi, ii. [177](#).
- Nicetas, Greek historian, [67](#), [77](#). His brother Michael Choniates, bishop of Athens, [69](#).
- Nicias, Athenian commander, small temple built by, in the Lenæum, [186](#), [285](#). His dedication of a gilt Minerva, 354.
- Nicias, painter, [46](#), 598.
- Nicoles of Tarentum, his monument, ii. [136](#).
- Nicodemus, sculptor, his Minerva of Olympia, 532.
- Nicolas, St., metókhi, ii. [39](#).
- Night, car of, sculpture in the Parthenon, 538.
- Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ* or *Ἀπτερος*, 332, 532. See Victory.
- Nile, river, ii. [106](#). Dykes and embankments of, [155 n.](#)
- Niobe, and her children, destroyed by Apollo and Diana, sculpture, [140](#), [284](#).
- Nisæa, port of Megara, ii. [174](#).
- Nisus, monument of, [134](#); ii. [25](#). Kingdom of, ii. [131](#).
- Nobilior, Q. Fulvius, [38](#).
- Nointel, marquis de, visits Athens, [85](#), [92](#), [96](#), [99](#), 536.
- Notium, or south wall of the Acropolis, [140](#), [187](#), 348. Sculptures of, [151](#), 348.
- Notium, or middle Long Wall, 425, 427.
- Nymphs, altar of the, 488. The term Nympholept, ii. [57](#).
- Nymphæum of Archedemus, ii. [57](#). N. near Phyle, 127.
- Oblivion, altar of, [153 n.](#), 340.
- Oceanus, or Nile, ii. [106](#).
- Odeia, origin and intention of, [190](#), [243 n.](#), [249](#).
- Odeium, near Enneacrunus, [9](#), [12](#), [171](#), [245](#). Statues before the entrance of, [118](#).
- Odeium of Pericles, [15](#), [183](#), [238](#), [246](#), [288](#), [289](#), 461, 462. Description of, by Dicaearchus, [188 n.](#)
- Odeium of Regilla, or theatre of Herodes, [181](#), [184](#), [189](#). Its roof of cedar, [190](#).
- ὁδὸς ἐκατόμπεδος*, 387 [n.](#), 558 [n.](#), *διὰ Κοίλης*, 442, *ἱερὰ*, [223 n.](#), *Θησεία*, [224 n.](#)
- Œa, or Oa, demus, ii. [3 n.](#), [151](#), [190](#).
- Œa, daughter of Cephalus, ii. [151 n.](#)
- Œum Cerameicum, demus, [32](#), [191](#).



- Œeum Deceleicum, demus, [32](#), [40](#), [191](#).  
 Οἰναῖοι τὴν χαράδραν, ii. [85](#).  
 Œdipus, monument of, [161](#); ii. [32](#).  
 Œneus, son of Pandion, eponymus of a tribe, [116](#); ii. [11](#). His statue, i. [115](#).  
 Œnobiæ, statue of, in the Acropolis, [146](#).  
 Œnoë of the Hippothoëntis, demus and fortress, ii. [13](#), [36](#), [86](#), [129](#), [190](#). Painting of the action at, in the Pæcile, [121](#). Siege of, 466. Temple of Apollo Pythius at, [99 n.](#), [130](#). Styled the Sacred, [131](#).  
 Œnoë, of the Æantis, demus of the Marathonian, ii. [84](#) seq., [190](#).  
 Œnoë and her brothers, sculpture of, at Rhamnus, ii. [107](#).  
 οἶκημα, [322](#), 323, 338, 582.  
 Oil, the sacred, a prize at the Panathænaic festival, 601.  
 Olbiades, painter, [115](#).  
 Olive-tree of the temple of Minerva Polias, [155](#), 338, 339, 344, 574, 583. The Moræa, 601.  
 Olive-groves near the site of the Academy, ii. [140](#).  
 Olivier, Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, 437 n.  
 \*Ολκίον, or Vulci, Greek city in Etruria, 453.  
 Olympia (Tellus), sanctuary of, in the Olympieum, [131](#), see [n.](#), [446 n.](#)  
 Olympia, sacred treasury of, pillaged by Sylla, [41](#). Temple and statue of Jupiter, at, [43](#), [56](#), [125](#), [336 n.](#), 338, 567. Statues remaining at, after Nero's spoliation, [44](#), [46](#). The Diaulus at, [158](#).  
 Olympieum, or temple of Jupiter Olympius, [25](#), [26](#), [40](#), [93](#), [129](#) seq. [167](#), [174](#), [201](#), [513](#) seq. Peribolus of, [130](#), [158](#). Description of the temple, [167](#), [513](#).  
 Olympiodorus, [152 n.](#), 405, 597. Statues of, [128 n.](#), [152](#), 353.  
 Olympus, sculpture of, in the Theseium, 504, 505.  
 Omâr, son of Turakhân, [75](#).  
 Onatas, sculptor, [46](#).  
 Onomacritus, poet, [144 n.](#)  
 Opisthodomus of the Parthenon, [82](#), 333. Treasure of the, [16](#), [41](#), 559.  
 Oracles, see Delphi, Delus, Amphiaræus, &c.  
 \*Ορχήστρα, [184 n.](#) Of the Old Agora, [245](#). Of the Lenæum, [290 n.](#)  
 Orchomenus, city, [39](#).  
 Oreithyia, consort of Boreas, [135](#).  
 Orestes, [45](#), [160](#). Slaying Ægisthus, painting in the Propylæa, [143](#).  
 οἱ ὀρισμοὶ τῆς πόλεως, 441.  
 \*Ορμή, [124](#).  
 Oropia, ii. [5](#), [111](#).  
 Oropii, ii. [117](#).  
 Oropus, town, ii. [112](#) seq. Question of its site, [113](#) seq. Plain of, [112](#).  
 ὄρνυγμα, 491.  
 Oschophorium, at Phalerum, 396.  
 Ostracism, [163 n.](#), [245](#).  
 Osymandyas, tomb of, [249 n.](#)  
 Otho de la Roche, duke of Athens, [69](#).  
 Otryneis, demus, ii. [165](#), [191](#).  
 Ovriókastro, site of Rhamnus, ii. [87](#), [107](#).  
 Oxen, sacrifice of, [5](#), [119](#), [148 n.](#)  
 Oxford marbles, the, ii. [82 n.](#), [83](#).  
 Pæaniciæ, two demi, ii. [75](#), [191](#).  
 Pæonidæ, demus, ii. [38](#), [39](#), [191](#).  
 Pæstum, Doric temples of, 334.  
 Paganism, its connexion with Greek art, [104](#). Flourished at Athens in the reigns of the Antonines, [60](#). Constantine tolerant to, [48](#). Decline of, in Greece, [47](#), [49](#), 481. Edicts against, [55](#), [60](#). Lingers at Athens, [55](#), [61](#).  
 Palæologus, Michael, emperor, recovers Constantinople, [69](#).  
 Palæologus, Theodore, despot of the Moræa, [72](#).  
 Paintings, Grecian, transferred to Italy, [39](#), [43](#), [46](#).  
 Palæstræ, 486.  
 Palladium, one of the Ten Courts, [161](#).  
 Παλλὰς ἡ Πυλαίμαχος, 349, 350.  
 Pallas. See Minerva.  
 Pallas and his sons, trial of Theseus for the homicide of, [161](#). King of the Paralia, ii. [25](#). The demus Pallene named from him, [44](#). Stratagem of, [26](#), [44](#), [74](#). The Pallantidæ, [74](#).  
 Pallene, peninsula of, 467, 510.  
 Palleneis, demus, [205](#), [206 n.](#); ii. [13](#), [44](#), [191](#). Its position, [27](#), [44](#). Vestiges of, [46 n.](#) Temple of Minerva, at, [44](#), [45](#). Battles at, [45 n.](#)  
 Paleókastro, ii. [71](#).  
 Pambotadæ, demus, ii. [191](#).  
 Pamphilus, his picture of a woman weaving a garland, [47 n.](#)  
 Pan, cave of, [159](#), [169](#), [170](#), [266](#), [356](#).  
 Pan and the nymphs, popular worship of, 483. His aid in the battle of Marathon, [160 n.](#) Statue of, now in the Library at Cambridge, [170](#). Altar of, at the Nymphæum of Archedemus, ii. [57](#). In the Amphiaræium, [117](#). Sanctuary of, [61](#). See Paneium. Mountain and cavern of, at Marathon, [93](#), [97](#).  
 Panactum destroyed by the Bæotians, ii. [128](#). Contest for the district, [128](#).  
 Παναγία ἡ Μεγάλη, [99](#), [259](#). στὴν Πέτραν, [250](#). Σπηλιότισσα, [188](#), [284](#). Βλαστική or Βλασταροῦ, [270](#). Μισο-σπορέτισσα, ii. [103 n.](#) Φαναρωμένη, [173](#).  
 Panathenæa, Great, quadrennial festival,



- 9, 108, 192, 194, 298, 337. Procession of the, 156, 298, 337. Musical contest in the, 246 n. Exhibition of the peplos in the, 162, 298, 564, 570 seq. Lesser or yearly Panathenæa, 566. Gymnic contests of, ii. 84.
- Panathenaic Stadium. See Stadium.
- Pandion, king of Attica, 3. Eponymus of a tribe, 116; ii. 11. His statue, i. 115. Temple of, 355. Doubts of Sir I. Newton as to, 3 n. Doubts of Pausanias as to, 116 n.
- Pandion the second, ii. 25, 131.
- Pandionis, Athenian tribe, 607; ii. 11, 13.
- Pandora, birth of, sculpture in the Parthenon, 150.
- Pandrosus, temple of, 127, 155, 205, 266, 339, 340, 577, 581. Sculpture of, on the Parthenon, 539.
- Panæum, near Anaphlystus, ii. 53. Near Trákhones, 56. Near Keratæa, 61.
- πάγκυφος, 155 n. 601.
- Panhellenium of Ægina, 512.
- Paní, Mount, part of Hymettus, ii. 56. Part of the mountain of Keratæa, ii. 61.
- Panopæa, ii. 99 n.
- Panops, a gate of the Asty, 280, 448. Fountain of, 281.
- Panormus, port, now Panórimo, ii. 68.
- Pantænus, painter, 14, 122 n.
- Pantheon, of Hadrian, at Athens, 131, 132 n., 260. Of Justinian, at Constantinople, 481.
- Parabystum, one of the Ten Courts, 161, 360.
- Paralia, district of Attica, 416; ii. 12, 16, 24, 25. Attic tribe, ii. 11. Demi of southern, 55 seq. Of eastern, 68 seq.
- Paralia, trireme, 420.
- Παραλιεῖς, Παραλίοι, ii. 12, 16.
- Parasitium, 491.
- Parnes, mountain of Attica, 210; ii. 2, 4. Passes of, 21, 123, 124. Woods and charcoal of, 35, 133. Demi of, 77 seq., 123. Fortresses of, 124, 126, 132. Torrent from, 148.
- Parnetho-Cithæronian ridges, ii. 133.
- Parrhasius, sculptor, 158.
- Parrhesiades, his proclamation to the philosophers, in Lucian, 268, 295, 314.
- Pars, Mr., draughtsman, accompanies Revett and Chandler to Athens, 97.
- Parthenon, 332 seq., 536 seq. Its Pediments, 148, 336. Opisthodomus, 537, 560. Metopes, 336 n., 540. Frieze of its cella, 546 seq., 556. Converted into a church of St. Sophia and of the Panaghía, 62, 480. And into a mosque, 62 n., 75, 333 n. Not the Temple of the Unknown God, 89, 91. Injuries which it received in the Venetian siege 1687, 82, 84 n., 87. Questions relative to, 554 seq. 631. Its divisions, 559.
- Παρθένος, Παρθενών, 148 n., 332, 554, 560.
- Parus, island, 482. Sculpture in the Parian quarry, 483.
- Patroclus, human sacrifices to his manes, 4 n.
- Patroclus, admiral of Ptolemy Philadelphus, ii. 62, 275. Island, or rampart of, ii. 62.
- Paul, St., at Athens, 90 n.
- Paullus, P. Æmilius, 38, 40.
- Paullus, L. Æmilius, 430.
- Pausanias, the Spartan, his action before Peiræus, 387—391.
- Pausanias, his travels, 28 seq. A native of Magnesia ad Sipylum, 29 n., 475. His work on Syria, 30, 31. His character as a traveller and writer, 32—36. Compared with Strabo, 31 seq. Olympia described by, 567. On the various writers named Pausanias, 475. The Marathonian described by, ii. 92, 105. The Sacred Way described by, 134, 139, 144, 146. Eleusis described by, 158.
- Peace bearing Plutus, statue of, 116.
- Peace, statue of, at the Prytaneum, 128.
- Πεδίον τὸ, the plain of Athens, 210; ii. 2. Demi of, 16, 31 seq. 38.
- Πεδιεῖς, 12, 201.
- Pegasus of Eleutherae, statue of, 111.
- Pegasus, Minerva taming, metope, 543. Bellerophon watering, metope, 544.
- Peiræus founded by Themistocles, 13. A demus, 364, 366; ii. 13, 191. Its harbours, i. 373 seq. Its public buildings, 386—393. Its fortifications, 371, 398, 399, 411, 417 n., 421. Supplied by wells, 394. Diminished state of Peiræus in the time of Strabo, 365, 397. And even in that of Alexander, 403. The Goths in Peiræus, 51. On the date of the commencement of the Peiraic fortifications, 603.
- ἡ Πέραν γῆ or Πειραική (the Oropia), ii. 111.
- Peiraicæ, gate of the Asty, 225, 232, 233, 445, 446. Commences the description of Athens by Pausanias, 235, 236.
- Peirithous, place of his meeting with Theseus, 129, 272, 635.
- Peisias, his statue of Apollo in the Buleuterium, 114.
- Peisistratidæ, 7, 9, 310. Expulsion of the, ii. 11. Their contest with the Alcæmonidæ, 39, 44.
- Peisistratus, 6, 7, 8, 9, 162 n., 206 n., 268. Temples, &c. founded by him, 9, 15, 119, 513. His landing at Marathon, ii. 44. His restoration, 45. Interpolation in the Iliad, by, 168.



- Peitho, worship of, 6, 141.  
 Πελαργοί, Πελασγοί, 309, 311 n.  
 Pelasgi of Attica, 1, 3.  
 Pelasgi Tyrrheni, 5, 8, 159, 172, 309, 352, 459. Pelasgi of Acarnania, 159 n.  
 Pelasgic deities, 2. Pelasgic fortifications at Athens, 310, 318. Pelasgic masonry and military sites, 455, 456. Pelasgic wall, and Pelasgicum at the foot of the Acropolis, distinguished, 298, 311, 313, 315.  
 Peleces, demus, ii. 43, 192.  
 Peloponnesian war, 15, 371, 419 n., 421, 432, 466 seq.; ii. 68, 128, 173.  
 Peloponnesus, its name extinct before the twelfth century, 77. Conquered by the Turks in 1459, 75.  
 Pennethorne, Mr. John, architect, 573.  
 Penteleis, demus, ii. 6, 13, 191.  
 Pentelicum, mountain of Attica, 210, 283, 436; ii. 3. Brilessus, identified with, 5, 6. Streams from, 10.  
 Pentheus and Lycurgus punished by Bacchus, picture, 138.  
 People and Graces, sanctuary of the, 488.  
 Peparethus, island, 22.  
 Peplus of Minerva, 156, 298, 337, 564 seq., 570, 635.  
 Pera, temple of Venus at, 283; ii. 9.  
 Peráti, Mount, ii. 10.  
 Perdix, sanctuary of, 140 n., 294.  
 Pergamus, city, 43.  
 Pergaseis, two demi, ii. 191.  
 Peribœa, 123.  
 περιβόητος, 6, 136 n.  
 περίβολος, 109 n.  
 περίβολος ἀρχαῖος, 239, 433.  
 Pericles, administration of, 7, 13, 426. Treasure collected by him in the Acropolis, 458. His buildings, 14, 15, 246, 337, 426, 460, 631. Their cost, 461. Statues of, 151, 159, 353. Sepulchre of, 594.  
 περιηγηταί, 36 n., 475.  
 Peripatetics, 134.  
 Περίπατος ἐξω τείχους, 275.  
 Perischœnisma, 163 n., 245.  
 περόναι, 128 n.  
 Perrhidæ, demus, ii. 122, 192.  
 Perseus slaying Medusa, statue in the Acropolis, 146.  
 Perseus, with the head of Medusa, picture in the Propylæa, 144.  
 Persians invade Attica, 9; ii. 18, 149, 203. In possession of the Acropolis, 127, 165, 263, 264, 310. Their battles, on the temple of Victory, 531, 533. P. at Marathon, ii. 93, 97, 99, 203 seq. At Salamis, 228—272.  
 πέτρα, η, 180 n. λεία πέτρα, ii. 153. ἀγέλαστος πέτρα, 1535.  
 Phœdra, dramatic story of, 142 n., 301. Dedications by, 142 n., 216 n.  
 Phalerum, demus, port and walled town, 15, 366, 368, 370, 372, 400, 417. Road from, to the city, 107, 232. Its monuments, 368, 396—399. Fisheries of, 397 n. Inclosure of, 401, 428, 431. Phaleric Long Wall, 423, 427, 434 n. Marsh of, 209, 231, 427; ii. 9. The demus Phalereis, ii. 13, 17, 194.  
 Phalerus, one of the Argonauts, 369.  
 Phanodemus, Athenian historian, 37 n.  
 Pharmacussæ, islands, now Kyrádhæ, ii. 165.  
 Phaura, island, ii. 53, 54.  
 Phegusii, demus, ii. 68, 73 n., 103, 194.  
 Phelleus, mountain of Diacria, ii. 6. Its summits, 7, 119. Sites of demi, south of the ridge, 122.  
 Φήμη, 124 n.  
 Phœræ, Archædemus of, ii. 57. Coins of, 58 n.  
 Pherrophattium, 488.  
 Phidias, sculptor, 27, 33, 38 n., 43, 46, 56, 113, 158, 337, 349, 462, 539, 627. His Jupiter, at Olympia, 43, 56. His Venus Urania, 120. His statue of Minerva Παρθένος, 148 seq. His Apollo Parnopius, 151, 353. His Minerva Promachus, 158, 349. His Minerva Lemnia, 159. Painted the Olympium, 14 n., 513. His statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus, ii. 105. Wrought chiefly in metals and ivory. 110 n.  
 Phigaleia, temple of, 334 n.  
 Phila, wife of Demetrius Poliorcetes, worship of, ii. 148.  
 Φίλην Ἀφροδίτην, 146.  
 Philæum, or temple of Venus, 138, 146.  
 Philaidæ, demus, ii. 75, 168, 194.  
 Philip, son of Amyntas, statue of, 118, 240, 607. His war with the Athenians, ii. 20. Gives Oropus to the Athenians, 112.  
 Philip, son of Demetrius, ravages Attica, 20, 274 n. Repulsed, 429. Alliance against him, ii. 135.  
 Philippi, gold coins named, 38.  
 Philippides, his meeting with Pan, 160 n.  
 Philippopolis, taken by the Goths, 50.  
 Philo, architect, 19, 20, 365, 461, 633; ii. 163.  
 Philochorus, Athenian historian, 37 n., 392; ii. 122.  
 Philocles, architect, 341 n.  
 Philopappus, monument of, 166, 494 seq.  
 Philostratus, ii. 82 n.  
 Philosophers, Athenian, allusion to them by Lucian, 254, 268, 295, 314. In the time of Justinian, 62 n. His edict against them, 61.



- Phocion, his power, 404. House of, 485. Statue of, 491.
- Phœnicia, 455.
- Phœnicus, one of the Ten Courts, [161](#), 359.
- Phorbas, heroum of, 489.
- Phormio, 467. Statue of, in the Acropolis, [147](#).
- Phoron, port, 364, 401; ii. [33](#), [171](#), [273](#). *φόρος*, 459, 460.
- Phosphorus, altar of, at Munychia, 384 n., 396.
- φράτριον*, *φρατρία*, 489, 491.
- Phreatys, one of the Ten Courts, 162, [360](#), [375](#).
- Phrixus sacrificing the ram, statue of, in the Acropolis, [147](#).
- Phryne obtains a statue of Cupid from Praxiteles, [136](#).
- Phtha, worship of, [2](#).
- Phyle, surprised by Thrasybulus, 384; ii. [37](#). A demus, [195](#). Fortress and pass of, [21](#), [124](#) seq. Plan of, [126](#). Cavern near, [127](#).
- φύλη*, *φύλαι*, ii. [11](#) seq., [37](#) n.
- Phyalus, tomb of, ii. [136](#).
- Picture-house of the Propylæa, [143](#), [322](#).
- Pictures at Athens, [112](#), [114](#), [125](#), [133](#) n., [137](#), [139](#), [143](#), [151](#) n., [153](#), [322](#), 512. Pictures of Christ and of saints destroyed by the iconoclasts, [65](#).
- Pikérmi, ruined town, ii. [29](#).
- Pindar, his hymn in praise of Athens, [116](#), [117](#) n., 628. Statue of, [116](#). Brazen statue of, seated, before the Stoa Basileus, [111](#).
- Pindus, Mount, [67](#).
- Pine-woods of Brilessus, ii. [79](#).
- Piracy in the Levant seas, [78](#).
- Pisa of Etruria, Pelagic city, 635.
- Pity, altar of, in the Agora, [123](#).
- Pityocampes and Theseus, metope, 503.
- Plague in the time of the Peloponnesian war, [113](#), 393. In 1687, at Athens, [83](#).
- Plain of Athens, [210](#); ii. [2](#), [12](#). Demi of the, [16](#), [31](#), [35](#), [201](#).
- Plane-trees of the Agora, [14](#) n. 625. Of the Lyceum, [274](#). Of the Academy, [274](#) n.
- Plataenses, tomb of, at Marathon, ii. [92](#), [100](#).
- Plato, his fabulous description of Athens, [207](#) n. Topographical allusions of, [276](#), [279](#), [280](#), 423, 486, 570. Statue of, by Silanion, 601. Tomb of, 602.
- Platonic philosophers, the later Athenian, [62](#) n.
- Pleistarchus, brother of Cassander, [121](#).
- Pliny, his allusions to Grecian works of art, &c., [34](#), [37](#), [38](#) n., [40](#), [44](#) n., [367](#) n., 515, 627.
- Plotheis, demus, ii. [103](#).
- πλυνῆς*, *πλυντήρια*, 484, 566.
- Plutarch, the historian, his allusions to the monuments and topography of Athens, [27](#), [229](#), [246](#) n., [285](#), [287](#) n., 439, 465, 497, 570; ii. [142](#).
- Plutarch of Athens, Platonist, [62](#) n.
- Pluto, statue of, [161](#). Worship of, 482. Pluto and Proserpine, ii. [139](#).
- Plutus, son of Peace, [116](#), 374.
- Pnyx, [7](#), [8](#), [179](#) seq., [243](#). The Heliotropium on its wall, [219](#). Its bema, or pulpit, [180](#) n., [181](#), [182](#), [248](#) n., 433, 517, 629.
- Pœcile, or stoa of Peisianax, [14](#), [121](#), [218](#), [252](#), 630. Brazen shields in the, [122](#). Stuart's error respecting, [259](#).
- Pœcilum, Mount, [205](#). The pass of, now Dhafni, [196](#). Position of the hill and pass, ii. [3](#), [144](#), [154](#). Temple of Apollo on, [138](#), [145](#).
- Poetry, modern Greek, established before the twelfth century, [77](#).
- ποιῶ*, [109](#) n.
- Polemarch, or third Archon, 491.
- Polemo, the topographer, [36](#) n. On the paintings of the Propylæa, [143](#), 323. On the Sacred Way, ii. [134](#), [149](#).
- Poleterium, 635.
- Polias. See Minerva Polias.
- Πόλις*, [154](#), [173](#) n., [221](#) n., [305](#). *τὰ κάτω τῆς πόλεως*, [238](#), [269](#). *οἱ ὀρισμοὶ τῆς πόλεως*, 441. See also ii. [16](#), [17](#), [168](#).
- Polyanus, stratagems recorded by, illustrated, [268](#), 420; ii. [132](#).
- Polybius, his censure of the Romans as to works of art, [39](#) n.
- Polybotes, the giant, slain by Neptune, statue of, [119](#). Sculpture of, in the Theseium, 508, 509.
- Polycleitus, architect and sculptor, [46](#). Theatre and Tholus of Epidauria built by him, [115](#) n., 523 n.
- Polydeucion, ii. [82](#), see n. [82](#), [83](#).
- Polygnotus, painter, his works in the Theseium, Pœcile, and Propylæa, [14](#), [46](#), [122](#) n., [126](#) n., [144](#).
- Polypemon, slain by Theseus, ii. [139](#).
- Polysperchon, 407, 408.
- Polytheism, decline of, ii. [156](#).
- Polytion, house of, [110](#).
- Polyxena, picture of the sacrifice of, in the Propylæa, [144](#).
- παιήται*, 608.
- πομπεῖα*, vases for the *πομπαί*, or sacred processions, kept in the *πομπεῖον*. [108](#) n.
- Pompeii, Egyptian antiquities found at, 455 n.
- Pompeium, building so called, [108](#). Its site, [235](#), [236](#), [242](#).
- Pompeius, Cnæus, the Athenians espouse his cause, [21](#), [40](#).



- Poplar-tree, proverb on the, at the old wooden theatre, 10 n.
- πορθμός, ii. 170.
- Porto Leone, Italian name of Port Peiræus, 371.
- Poseidalcia, ii. 83 n.
- Poseidon, a Pelasgic deity, 2, 4 n. A terrene deity, 482. See Neptune.
- Posidonias, Attic tribe, ii. 11.
- Potamii, demus, ii. 71, 192. Their harbour, 71.
- Potidæa, monument of Athenians slain at, 199, 595 n. Expense of the siege of, 466—470.
- Prasa, island, ii. 68.
- Praseis, demus, ii. 68, 192.
- Prasæa, port of, ii. 67, 71, 92. Peninsula near, 274. Temple of Apollo at, 72.
- Prasonisi, island, ii. 56.
- Pratinas, dramatic author, cotemporary with Æschylus, 10 n., 247 n.
- Praxiteles, sculptor, works of, 33, 46, 108, 117 n., 228, 234. His Cupid, 44 n., 136 n., was presented by Phryne to Thespisæ, 137 n. His Ceres and Proserpine, 110. His Diana Brauronia, 146. His Satyr, in Tripodes, 136.
- Probalisii, demus, ii. 13, 89 n., 192. Their temple of Minerva Hellotis, ii. 88.
- Probalysia, or district of Probalinthus, ii. 192.
- Proclus, a Platonic philosopher, 62 n. His tomb, 206. His epitaph, 207 n.
- Procne and Itys, statues of, by Alcámenes, in the Acropolis, 148.
- Procris, wife of Cephalus, ii. 138.
- Procrustes, or Polypemon, ii. 139.
- Prometheus, temple and altar of, 599—601.
- προνήιον, 559.
- Προπύλαια ταῦτα, 179 n., 182, 316 n.
- Propylæa, 143, 265, 315 seq., 345, 527. The gates of the Acropolis, 326, 331. Cost of, 463 seq. Approach of Pausanias to them from the Lenæum, 303. Partly destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder, 76 n., 87. Modern tower on the southern wing of, 73.
- Propylæum of the Lenæum, 290. Of the New Agora, 22, 211, 253, 258. Its inscriptions, 212, 214. Of the temple of Eleusis, 528 n.
- Proserpine, or Core, 249. Sanctuary of, in the Agora, 488; ii. 162.
- Prospaltii, demus, ii. 73, 192.
- πρόστας, 342, 343.
- Protogenes, painter, his works, 114, 151 n.
- Prytanes, the, 115 n.
- Prytaneium, 8, 127. Situated near the Agraulium, 238, 252, 269, 270 n. One of the Ten Courts, 162, 360. Sacred to Minerva, 213 n.
- Psaphis, of the Oropia, a demus of Attica, ii. 118, 193.
- Psyttalia, islet, 364.
- Ptolemais, Athenian tribe, 25, 124 n., 239; ii. 12.
- Pteleasii, demus, ii. 192.
- Ptolemy Soter, statue of, 118, 240.
- Ptolemy Philometor, statue of, 118, 240.
- Ptolemy Philadelphus, gymnasium of, 24, 124, 252, 257. Eponymus of a tribe, 116, 124; ii. 12. Statue of, 118, 240.
- Ptolemy, son of Juba, statue of, 258.
- Pylades and Orestes slaying Ægisthus and the sons of Nauplius, painting in the Propylæa, 143.
- Pylides, or lesser gates of the Asty, 280, 281, 319, 448.
- πυλῖς, πυλῶν, 121 n., 257 n., 448.
- Pylon Asticus, ὁ πυλῶν ἀστικός, 121 n., 256, 257 n., 444.
- πύργος, ὁ, 530.
- Pyrgo (ancient monument at Marathon), ii. 92, 101.
- Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, sculpture of, at Rhamnus, ii. 107.
- Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, statue of, 118, 240.
- Πυθίαι ἀκταί, ii. 151 n., 152.
- Pythionice, monument of, ii. 137, 142.
- Pythiastæ, prognostics of the, 99 n., 127, 131.
- Pythium, near the Olympium, 132, 273. Or temple of Apollo Patrous, 113 n., 299. At Cenoë of the tribe Hippothoëntis, ii. 99 n., 130, 152.
- Quadratus, and the Christian church of Athens, 60.
- Quadriga, brazen, in the Acropolis, 159, 348, 351.
- Quarries of Peiræus, 396. Of Mount Pentelicum, ii. 4, 6. Of Mount Hymettus, ii. 47.
- Rafina, village and river of, ii. 23, 24, 76.
- Rafti, Porto, ii. 67, 71, 72. Island at the entrance of, 72.
- Ram, brazen colossal, in the Acropolis, 353.
- Rapendósia, village and elevated vale, ii. 80, 104.
- Regilla, odeium of, 181, 189.
- Revenue, the Athenian, 17 n.
- Revett, Nicholas, his labours at Athens, 96, 97, 307, 528 n.
- Revíthia, village, ii. 119, 121.
- Rhacidae, demus, ii. 192.
- Rhamnus, town, demus, and fortress, ii. 13, 21, 107, 192. Described by Pausanias, ii. 105. Temples of, i. 15, 464.
- Rharium, the plain, ii. 158.



- Rheiti, salt streams, ii. [125](#), 138—141, [147](#).
- Rhodes, [19](#). Its alliance with Athens and Rome against Philip, son of Demetrius, [20](#), [25](#). Colossus of, [129](#).
- Rhodian, monument of a, on the Sacred Way, ii. [137](#).
- Rivers and torrents of Attica, ii. 7—10, [22](#), [24](#), [66](#), [71](#), 77—88, [94](#), [112](#), [123](#), [127](#), [135](#), [139](#), [140](#), [148](#), [153](#) n. Of the Oropia, &c. [112](#), [114](#), 117—119.
- Roger, king of Sicily, takes Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, [64](#).
- Romaic language, poetry, and grammar, [77](#). Pronunciation of the, ii. [40](#) n. Grammatical forms of, [125](#) n.
- Ῥωμαῖοι*, [77](#).
- Romans in Greece and Macedonia, 37—[41](#), 42—46, 409 seq. Statues of illustrious R. at Athens, 355; ii. [73](#). Busts of, [88](#).
- Rome, statues and pictures transferred from Greece to, [37](#), [38](#), 40—46. Its population and extent compared with Athens, 438, 439. Weights of Rome compared with the Attic, 473. Temple of 'Rome and Augustus,' 353.
- Ῥώμαι. Ῥώμη ἡ τρίτη*, 488.
- Sacred gate, or Dipylum, [224](#), [229](#). See Dipylum.
- Sacred Way, from Athens to Eleusis, [196](#). Began from the Sacred Gate, or Dipylum, [224](#), [229](#), 594. Remains and monuments of the, ii. [134](#), [139](#) seq., [145](#) seq. Procession of the Mystæ on the, [223](#); ii. [141](#).
- Sacred Land, or territory of Eleusis, [150](#).
- Sacred Way from Athens to Delphi by Cenoë and Panopæa, ii. [99](#) n., [130](#).
- Sacrifices, human, [3](#), [4](#) n. Of oxen, [5](#), [148](#) n. Of sheep, [5](#), 345 n. Of a ram to Ceres, [304](#). Of a heifer to Minerva Polias, 345 n. Of horses, 483. Of a ram to Amphiaræus, ii. [117](#). Imperial edicts against pagan, i. [55](#).
- Salaminii, demus, ii. [168](#), [193](#).
- Salamis not visible from Pnyx, [179](#) n. Bay of, ii. [166](#), [170](#). Ferry of, [34](#), [170](#). Strait of, [171](#), [173](#). Battle of, [34](#), [51](#), [169](#), [171](#), 228—272. History of, [166](#) seq. Remains of the city of, [169](#), [171](#). Dryness of, [172](#) n.
- Samosata, capital of Commagene, 495.
- Sarandáforo, river (Eleusinian Cephissus), ii. [149](#), [150](#).
- Sarapis, temple of, [128](#), [238](#), [270](#) n., [272](#).
- Sardeis, city, ii. [204](#).
- Sarmatian armour, [141](#).
- Saronic Gulf, ii. [62](#).
- Satyr, statue, by Praxiteles, [136](#), [287](#).
- Satyr, offering a cup to Bacchus, statue by Thymilus, [137](#).
- Satyrus, statue of, 491.
- Scambonidæ, demus, 440, 444, 634; ii. [193](#).
- Schœnus, bay, in the Corinthia, now Kalamáki, ii. [256](#).
- Schools of Athens closed by an edict of Justinian, [61](#).
- Scias, a circular building of Sparta, [115](#) n. The Scias at Athens. See Tholus.
- Sciathus, island, [22](#).
- Scionæi, shields taken from them, in the Pœcile, [123](#).
- Scira, torrent, ii. [135](#), [141](#).
- Sciradium, promontory of Salamis, ii. [171](#). Temple of Mars on, [172](#). Temple of Minerva Sciras on, [172](#).
- Sciras, an ancient name of Salamis, ii. [166](#).
- Sciron thrown by Theseus into the sea, statues of clay, [111](#).
- Scirum, tomb of Scirus, ii. [135](#), [141](#).
- Scirus, Dodonæan prophet, 369 n.; ii. [135](#), [141](#). Slain in battle, [166](#).
- Scopas, sculptor, [161](#) n.
- Scyrus, island, [6](#). People of, punished by Cimon, [126](#).
- Scythian tribes overrun Greece, [66](#).
- Sea-line and defences of maritime Athens, 364, 398 seq.
- Seféri, hamlet, ii. [79](#), [90](#).
- σηκός*, 358 n., 449, 556; *μυστικός σηκός* or *τελεστήριον* at Eleusis, ii. [162](#).
- Seleucus Nicator, [9](#) n. Brazen statue of, [123](#), 494.
- Selinus, dipteral Doric temple at, 336 n., 515.
- Selli, of Homer, ii. [90](#) n.
- σημα*, [109](#) n.
- Semachidæ, demus, ii. [13](#), [104](#), [193](#).
- Semachus, hero, [104](#).
- σημεῖα*, ii. [99](#).
- Semnæ, sanctuary of the, [12](#), [45](#), [241](#), [303](#), [356](#). Its adytum, 357. The offspring of Cronus, [133](#). Daughters of the Earth, [161](#). Sacred inclosure of, at Colonus, ii. [32](#).
- Sepólia, village, ii. [32](#).
- Serangeium, 392. A sanctuary of the hero Serangus, 393.
- Serpent, the Erichthonian, [149](#), [150](#) n., [155](#) n.
- Servians, their conquests in Western Greece, [70](#).
- Severus, Septimius, visits Athens and Eleusis, [24](#).
- Sgurós, Leon, governs Corinthia and Argolis, [68](#). His attack on Athens, [68](#). Is overpowered by the Franks, [69](#).
- Sibyrtius, palæstra of, 486.
- Sicily, defeat of the Athenians in, [16](#), 597. Visited by Pausanias, [30](#).
- Sicyon, state of art in, [10](#), 455.
- Sigonius, his Catalogue of the Demi, ii. [177](#).



- Σικελία, an Athenian hill, 492.  
 Silenæ, or Tropæa, promontory in Salamis, ii. 171.  
 Silenus, stone of, in the Acropolis, 146, 346.  
 Silk manufacture in Greece, 63, 64.  
 Silver mines of Attica, 363; ii. 3, 48, 65.  
 Simon, equestrian statue of, 297. His treatise on horsemanship, 297 n.  
 Sinis, robber, slain by Theseus, ii. 136.  
 Sinope, 464.  
 Sipylus, Mount, 29.  
 Sirens, 186 n.  
 Sites of Greek cities preserving remains of antiquity, 100 n.  
 σιτηρέσιον, 467 n., 468 n.  
 Sitophylaces and Metronomi, 246.  
 Skarmangá, metókhi, ii. 49. Peninsula of, 165.  
 σκίλη, 422.  
 σκιαδεΐα, 342 n.  
 σκόλιον, 338 n.  
 Slaves of the Athenians, their number in the city and in Attica, 619—623; ii. 7 n. Tomb of the Athenians at Marathon, 101.  
 Smooth Rock, the, (a part of Ægaleos, or Pæcilum), ii. 153 n.  
 Socrates, brazen statue of, 108 n. Statues of the Graces by, 144, 345. Allusions to, 209, 274 n., 392, 425, 520. Walk of Socrates along the eastern side of the city, 277—280, 446. Heroum of, 489. Bust of, 288.  
 Solon, laws of, 6, 127, 525. Establishes the Prytaneium in the Asty, 8. Brazen statue of, at the Pæcile, 123. Sepulchre of, 489. Allusions to, ii. 168, 172.  
 Songs, Athenian, 117 n., 339 n.  
 Sophia, St., the Parthenon, 62, 480.  
 Sophia, St., cathedral at Constantinople, 62, 481. Some columns for this edifice carried from Athens, 63.  
 Sophocles, scene of his *Œdipus Coloneus*, 197. Statue of, in the Dionysiac theatre, 139. Bust of, 261 n. His tomb surmounted with a Siren, 186 n. His *demos*, ii. 32. Quotations from, 65, 151 n. Scholiast on, 151, 153 n.  
 Soranus, Bareus, proconsul in Asia Minor, 43.  
 Soró, ὁ Σορός, tomb of the Athenians who fell at Marathon, ii. 99, 100.  
 Σουριακὸς γουνός, ii. 60 n.  
 Sparta, the Persian stoa at, ii. 162.  
 Spartans. See Lacedæmonians.  
 Spata, village (Sphettus), ii. 24—29, 75.  
 Speusippus, 601.  
 σπήλαιον, Σπηλιότισσα, 188.  
 Sphacteria, island, 123.  
 Sphendaleis, *demos*, ii. 123, 124 n., 193.  
 Sphendonii, ii. 201.  
 Sphettus, town and *demos*, ii. 17, 24 seq., 75, 193. The Sphettian way, 26, 27.  
 Spiliá, village, ii. 54.  
 Spon visita Athens, 94. Reference to his work, 76, 94, 96, 176, 259, 431, 495, 540. Obtains a complete copy of the inscription on the reservoir of Hadrian, 202. Some errors of, 259, 540. His Catalogue of the *Demi*, ii. 178.  
 Sporgilli, *demos*, ii. 193.  
 Spyridion, Saint, monastery of, and ancient vestiges, 381.  
 Stade, Greek, 434 n.; ii. 19, 121.  
 Stadium Panathenaicum, 192—195, 629. Its seats of Pentelic marble, 28, 136.  
 Stavrokoráki, Mount, ii. 79, 94, 96, 97.  
 Stefáni, village, ii. 150, 154.  
 Stoa Basileius, 111, 171, 240, 255, 441. Stoa of Eumenes, 238. Stoa Eleutherius, 112, see note, 241 seq. Votive shields of the, 40. Stoa of Hadrian, 258. Stoa of Herodes, 291. Stoa Pæcile. See Pæcile.  
 Stoa from the Peiraic gate to the Ceramicus, 236. The Macra Stoa, 255. Of the Thracians, 253 n.  
 στοά, 487.  
 ἑκατόμπεδος στοά, ii. 70.  
 Stómi, cape, ii. 94.  
 Steiricis, *demos*, ii. 13, 71. ὁδὸς Στειριακή, 71.  
 Stelæ, sepulchral, regulations concerning them, 594 n. Their various forms, 101 n. Inscriptions on, 594; ii. 75 n., 92.  
 σταφανηπλόκος, 46 n.  
 Stephanephorus, heroum of, 489.  
 Strabo, his time, 23. His travels, 31. His description of Greece, 32. Of Athens, 22 seq., 37, 364 seq. His style, 33. Compared with Pausanias, 31 seq.  
 στρατηγός, 49, 355 n. The ten στρατηγοὶ at Marathon, 205 seq.  
 Stratotiki, harbour, anciently Munychia, 370.  
 Strato, tomb of, ii. 147. Inscription on it, 148 n.  
 Strattis, cited, 570.  
 Streets of ancient Athens:—Ceramic dromus from Dipylum to the Agora, 221, 223, 227, 236, 443. Its triodus, 256. From the Peiraic Gate to the Ceramic triodus, 233. Street of Collytus, 443, 488. Myrmex, 444. The Longo-mural street, 231, 418. Of the Hermæ, 253, 488. Of Melite, 443, 446. Of Diomeia, 443. From the Stoa Basileius to the ascent to the Propylæa, 254. τῶν Ἑρμογλυφείων, 488. τῶν κυβιστοποιῶν, 488. Of the Tripodes, 136, 238, 269, 289, 488. From Peiræus to Munychia, 381, 382. Of Vesta, 488. From the



- Prytaneium to the Arch of Hadrian, 272. The third street, 488.
- Stuart, James, architect, arrived at Athens in 1751, with Revett, 96. Allusions to his researches, 171, 191, 200 n., 250, 276, 294, 307, 339, 495. Mistook the Stoa of Hadrian for the Pœcile, 259; and the Pnyx for the theatre of Regilla, 181. His error as to the Metopes of the Parthenon, 540. Geographical observations of, ii. 41, 43, 66, 71.
- Styræ, town of Eubœa, ii. 204.
- Suli, upper village of, ii. 79, 82, 87, 90 n., 94. Pass of Upper Suli, 79, 103.
- Sun-dials, ancient, 191, 219.
- Sunieis, demus, ii. 62, 193.
- Sunium, temple of, 15, 464. Promontory of, 350, 631; ii. 62. Fortress of, ii. 21, 51, 59 n., 63. The Suniac angle, 59 n., 60 n.
- Συσσίτιον, 490.
- Sylla destroys a part of the Athenian fortifications, 20, 228, 235, 398, 410, 430. Spares the public monuments, and works of art, 21, 40, 138 n. Seizes the library of Apellicon, 41. Plunders the treasures of Athens, Delphi, Olympia, and Epidauros, 41. Carries away columns of the Olympieum, 514. Massacre in the Ceramic Agora, on his capture of Athens, 138 n., 218, 229, 230.
- Synesius, bishop of the Cyrenaica, 53 n. On the decay of Athens, 53.
- Syracuse, conquest of, by Marcellus, 38. Circuit of the walls of, 439.
- Syria, work of Pausanias on, 30, 31.
- Syriani, monastery on Mount Hymettus, 283. Fountain of the Ilissus at, ii. 8.
- Syrianus, Platonic philosopher, 62 n., 206.
- Talent, Athenian, weight and approximate value of, 463, 472.
- Talos, tomb of, 140, 288, 294 seq.
- ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως, 606.
- Tanagraea, or the Tanagrace, ii. 124 n., 128.
- Tanagraean plains, the, ii. 123.
- Tantalus, lake of, on Mount Sipylus, 29.
- Tantalus of Magnesia, 475.
- τάφος, 109 n.; ii. 92.
- Tatóy, sources at, ii. 8. Site of Deceleia, 18, 39.
- Taureas, palestra of, 486.
- Tegea, espoused the cause of Mark Antony, 42. Temple of Minerva Alca at, 42. Ruins of the city, 102.
- τειχοποιοί, 607.
- τείχος Κιμώνιον, 159, 311, 529. Πελασγικόν, 309. Νότιον, 140, 187, 353. μάκρον τεῖχος, 419. μάκρὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, 423. δια-  
μίσου τεῖχος, 423, 425, 427, 431 n., 433, 465.
- Telamon, city of, or ancient Salamis, ii. 169.
- Teleboæ, ii. 138.
- Teleontes, or Geleontes, Attic tribe, ii. 11.
- Telesarchides, his Hermes with four heads, 256.
- Tellus, worship of, 483. Tellus and Ceres, temple of, 142, 301 seq., 529. T. Curotrophus, 142, 302. T. Olympia, temple of, 446.
- Telo-Vuni, the greater Hymettus, ii. 3.
- τίμενος, 109 n., 308; ii. 41.
- Temples of Greece, converted into churches, 56, 61, 62, 205.
- Tetracomî, ii. 13, 33.
- Tetrapolis, ii. 13, 17, 77—87, 90. See Marathon.
- τετρωβολίξειν, τετρωβόλου βίος, 466 n.
- Thallo and Carpo, the two Horæ, 155 n., 584.
- Thargelia, festival, 132 n. Painting of it, in the Δαφνηφόρειον at Phyle, ii. 126.
- Θάπτον ἡ Βούτης, 122 n.
- θία ἀπ' αἰγείρου, 10 n.
- θίας ἄξιον, 33.
- Theagenes, tyrant of Megara, 158.
- Theatre, definition and uses of the Greek, 190 n., 248, 249. The old wooden, 10 n., 247. Of Peiræus, 374, 386, 387. Of Munychia, 394. Of Corinth, 49. See Dionysiac Theatre.
- Thebes, in Bœotia, 10. Overthrown by Sylla, 39. Saved from Alaric by its fortifications, 52. Governed by the house of Acciajuoli, 73, 75. Route from Colonus to, ii. 152, 153 n.
- Thebes, in Egypt, 12 n., 29.
- Themis, temples of, 301; ii. 110.
- Themistocles, son of Neocles, his administration and public works, 13, 127, 310, 366, 411, 416 seq. Statues of, 128, 628. Painting of, 561. Choragic dedication by, 185 n. Temple of Venus Aparchus built by, 368 n. Archon eponymus in 481 B.C., 603—605. Tomb of, 366, 378, 380, see note. Dedication by his sons, 152, 353. His conduct in the battle of Salamis, 256 seq.
- Themistocles, son of Poliarchus, tomb of, ii. 135.
- Theodectes of Phaselis, tomb of, ii. 136.
- Theodorus, tragedian, his monument, ii. 136.
- Theodorus, prefect of Achaia, 52.
- Theodosius, reign of, 49, 54 n., 55. Transported Greek statues to Constantinople, 56.



- Theodosius II., [59](#), [60](#).  
 Theogonia of Hesiod, not genuine, [29](#).  
 Theophrastus augments the library of Aristotle, [41](#). Allusions to, [210](#), [274 n](#).  
 Theoria, or sacred commission to Delos, ii. [72](#), [99](#), [131](#). To Delphi, [99 n](#), [127](#), [131](#).  
 Θεοτόκος, Θεομήτωρ, [62 n](#), 480.  
 Theramenes, [269](#), 394.  
 Therikó (Thoricus), ii. [59](#), [69](#).  
 Thermopylae occupied by the Greeks, [50](#). Passed by Alaric, [52](#).  
 θήσαυρος, 490.  
 Theseia, four in Attica, [6](#), 392, 501.  
 Theseium, [14](#), [125](#), [166](#). Its inner frieze, 504 seq. Its metopes, [167](#), 502, 336, 503 n. Pictures within the Cella, 512. Its position, [252](#), 441. Description of, 498 seq. Theseium of Peiræus, 392.  
 Theseus, [4](#), [5](#), [143 n](#). Introduces the worship of Venus Pandemus and Peitho, [6](#), [141](#). The companion and friend of Hercules, [6](#), 441, 501. His sojourn at Træzen, [4](#), [142 n](#). Caused the people to be admitted to power, [8](#), [112](#). Allusions to his actions and labours, [108 n](#), 111, [129](#), [157](#), [272](#), 366, 498 seq., 503, 629. His contest with the Minotaur, statue, [147](#). Metope, 503. Leading the Cretan bull from Marathon, statue, [157](#), 585. The same on a metope of the Theseium, 503. His combat with the Amazones, picture, [121](#), 490. With the Centaurs, picture, [125](#). Reliefs on the frieze of the Theseium, relating to him, 504, 511. Throwing Sciron into the sea, statues in clay, [111](#). Theseus, Democracy, and the People, paintings of, [112](#). His bones removed from Scyrus to Athens, [126](#), 498. Sons of, 369. Concealment of Helena at Aphidna by, ii. [19](#). Actions of, [26](#), [33](#), [77](#), [122](#), [136](#), [139](#).  
 Thesmophoræ, Thesmophoreium, 490.  
 Thesmothetæ, painting of, by Protogenes, [114](#).  
 Thespiæ, temple of Love at, [42](#), [44 n](#), [137 n](#).  
 Thessalonica, city, [50](#). The capital of John Ducas, [67](#).  
 Thessaly, visited by Pausanias, [30](#). Chief towns of modern, [78](#).  
 Thirty tyrants, their contest with Thrasybulus, 384—391. Allusions to their affairs, [108](#), [109 n](#), [182](#); ii. [37](#).  
 Tholus of Athens, also called Scias, [115](#), [237](#), [242](#), [243](#).  
 Tholus, of Epidauria, built by Polycleitus, [115 n](#).  
 Thoreis, demus, ii. [13](#), [187](#), [275](#).  
 Thoricus, town and demus, ii. [17](#), [22](#), [187](#). Remains of, [59](#), [68](#). Harbour of, [67](#). Plan of the theatre of, [69](#). Remains of a quadrangular colonnade at, [69](#), [70](#).  
 Thrace, visited by Pausanias, [30](#).  
 Θράττα,—and Thracian slaves, ii. [7 n](#).  
 Thrasybulus, his actions against the Lacedæmonians and the Thirty, 384—391, 404; ii. [37](#), [125](#). Sepulchral monument of, [i](#), 594.  
 Thrasyllus, monument of, [186](#), [284](#).  
 Thriasie, gate of the Asty or Dipylum, [223](#). See Dipylum.  
 Thriasii, demus, [224](#); ii. [146 n](#), [149](#), [187](#), [199](#). Town of, [150](#). Thriasian plain, ii. [139](#), [143](#), [148](#) seq.  
 θρόνοι, 432; ii. [110](#).  
 Thucydides, son of Melesias, exostracised, 402.  
 Thucydides, son of Orolus or Olorus, on the topography of Athens, [172](#), [273](#), [366 n](#), 432, [465](#). On the Long Walls, 422, 424, 434 n. On the rampart of the Asty, 437 n. On the Olympieum, [167](#). On the walls near Munychia, 411. On the theatre at Munychia, 394. In reference to the cost of the works of Pericles, 463 seq. 'House of Thucydides' a modern name, 479. His history quoted, 413; ii. [4](#), [111](#), [173](#).  
 Thurium, Athenian colony at, 464.  
 Thymætadæ, demus, ii. [13](#), [188](#). Harbour of, [33](#).  
 Thymætas, king of Attica, ii. [33](#).  
 Thymilus, sculptor, his works, [137](#), [287](#).  
 Thyrgonidæ, demus, ii. [122](#), [188](#).  
 Tiberias, lake of, visited by Pausanias, [30](#).  
 Timænetus, his picture of a wrestler in the Propylæa, [144](#).  
 Timon of Athens, 443 n. Tower of, 602.  
 Timotheus, son of Conon, [112](#). Statue of, [148](#). His exile, 607. His tomb, 598.  
 Titacidæ, demus, ii. [13](#), [122](#), [194](#).  
 Tocco, Charles, duke of Ioánnina, [72](#).  
 Tolmides, statue of, [157](#). Sepulchre of, 597.  
 Tombs and monuments on the Sacred Way, ii. [134](#) seq.  
 Toxaris, the Scythian, 599.  
 Tragedies, copies of, kept among the archives, [140 n](#). Rehearsals of, 485.  
 Trákhones, village, ii. [56](#).  
 Trapezóna, 400; ii. [273](#).  
 Treasure in the Acropolis in the time of Pericles, 458, 559.  
 Τριὰς, 'Αγία, monastery, ii. [39](#), [125](#).  
 Tribes, the four Athenian, [4 n](#); ii. [11](#). Increased to ten, [11](#), [12](#). To twelve, and to fourteen, [12](#). Their protecting deities, [i](#), 491.  
 Tricomi, ii. [43](#).  
 Tricorysii, demus, ii. [13](#), [194](#).



- Tricorythus, vestiges of, [87](#). Plain of, [95](#), [97](#).  
 Trigla, and statue of Hecate Triglathena, [492](#).  
 Trigonum, one of the Ten Courts, [161](#).  
 Trinemeis, demus, ii. [123](#), [194](#).  
 Trinity, Holy, monastery of, ii. [39](#), [125](#).  
 Triodus of the Cerameicus, [259](#).  
 Tripod, golden, at Delphi, from the Persian spoils, [57 n.](#)  
 Tripodes, street and quarter of, [136](#), [187](#), [238](#), [269](#), [284](#) seq., [289](#).  
 Tripolitzá, [78 n.](#), [102](#).  
 Triptolemus, institutes the Eleusinian mysteries, [3](#). Statue of, [119](#). Ionic temple of, delineated by Stuart, [99](#), [119](#), [171](#), [250](#). Temple at Eleusis of, ii. [158](#). Threshing-floor and altar of, [159](#).  
 Triremes, number of Athenian, [18](#), [365](#), [599 n.](#) Expense of, [468](#). Painting of two by Protogenes, [151 n.](#), [561](#).  
 τρισμύριοι, [520](#).  
 Tritonis, lake, [120](#).  
 Træzen, sojourn of Theseus at, [4](#), [142 n.](#), [302 n.](#)  
 Τροία, or Xypete, ii. [35 n.](#), [273](#).  
 Tropæa, cape of Salamis, ii. [171](#).  
 Troy, the taking of, picture in the Pæcile, [122](#).  
 Tumuli, various, ii. [48](#), [80](#), [84](#), [165](#). At Marathon, [99](#), [100](#).  
 Tunny fishery at Halæ, ii. [273](#).  
 τύπος, [109 n.](#)  
 Turakhán seizes upon Thebes, [74](#).  
 Tuvla, Hellenic remains at, ii. [56](#).  
 Twelve Gods, altar of the, [162](#), [245](#), [435](#).  
 Tyndaridæ, their invasion of Attica, ii. [19](#). Sculpture of, [106](#).  
 Typhon, buried beneath Ætna, [508](#).  
 Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni, Pelasgi, [8](#), [309](#), [449](#) seq.  
 Tyrrhenia, [449](#). Fleet of, defeated by Hiero, [453](#). Vases and inscriptions of, [452](#).  
 Tzuréla (Ægilia), ii. [61](#).  
 ὑδρεῖα, [342 n.](#)  
 Ulysses carrying off the Palladium of Troy, and encountering Nausicaa at the river, pictures in the Propylæa, [143](#), [144](#).  
 Unknown God, altar to the, [89](#), [90 n.](#), [91](#), [95](#), [369](#). Temple of, (the Parthenon), [84 n.](#), [89](#), [91](#).  
 ὑπαιθρον, ὑπαίθριον, [257 n.](#), [356 n.](#), [365](#).  
 ὑπερῶα, ὑπερῶοι στοαί, [338 n.](#)  
 ὑπηρέται, [466](#).  
 Valarí, at the foot of Mount Argalíki, ii. [102](#).  
 Valerian, emperor, [50](#).  
 Vari metókhí (Anagyrus), ii. [56](#), [61](#).  
 Vari, bay of, ii. [56](#).  
 Varibópi, village, ii. [40](#).  
 Varnáva, village, ii. [122](#).  
 Vase, representing Athenian edifices, [188](#).  
 Vases, Tyrrhenian, bearing Greek inscriptions, [452](#), [453](#).  
 Velanidbéza, ancient site, ii. [75](#).  
 Venetians. See Moréa, Athens.  
 Venus, Urania, [2](#), [6](#), [120 n.](#) The eldest of the Fates, [133](#), see [n.](#) Temples of, [12](#), [120](#), [253](#), [255](#), [256](#), [374](#). Square statue of, [133](#). Statue of, by Phidias, [120](#). V. Pandemus and Peitho, temple of, or Hippolyteium, [141](#), [215](#). Statues of, [142](#). V. temple of, in 'the gardens', [133](#), [275](#). Statue by Alcámenes, [133](#). V. Aparchus, temple of, [368 n.](#) V. Catascopia at Træzen, temple of, [142 n.](#) V. Leæna, sanctuary and statue of, in the Propylæa, [145](#), [345](#). V. of Cnidus taken to Constantinople, [56](#). Three temples of V., at Cnidus, [368](#). V. Psithyra, [142 n.](#), [488](#). Two statues of V. in the temple of Mars, [116](#). Temples of V. at Peiræus, [368](#), [374](#), [381](#). Of Venus Callia at Pera, [283](#); ii. [9](#). Of V. Colias, [51](#), [53](#). Of V. Urania at Athmonum, ii. [42](#). At Alopec, [31](#). Of V. Phila on the Sacred Way, [138](#), [145](#) seq.  
 Verneda, Venetian engineer, his drawings of the Propylæa, &c., [76](#).  
 Vernon, Mr., his visit to Athens, [94](#).  
 Verres, the proconsul, [39](#).  
 Vespasian places Athens under a Roman proconsul, [23](#). Conquers Commagene, [495](#). See also ii. [50](#).  
 Vesta, statue of, in the Prytaneium, [128](#). Temple of, in Peiræus, [392](#).  
 Vesta Bulæa, altar of, in the Council-house, [114 n.](#)  
 Victory Apterus, temple of, [143](#), [215](#), [241](#), [320—329](#), [529](#). Described by Spon and Wheeler, [85](#), [320](#), [322 n.](#), [324](#). Its destruction, [87](#). Its remains, [81 n.](#), [529](#) seq. Its platform, [303](#), [529](#), [530](#), [534](#).  
 Victory, car and horses of, in the Parthenon, destroyed by the Venetians, [87](#). Olive garland of, [340 n.](#)  
 Victory in the hand of Minerva and of Jupiter, [149](#), [532](#). Bronze statue of, at Brescia, [59](#).  
 Villehardouin, family of, in the Moréa, [68](#).  
 Visconti on the sculptures of the Parthenon, [538](#) seq.  
 Vitruvius, on the Odeium of Pericles, [288 n.](#), [289](#). On the Lenæum, [287](#). On the Olympieum, [168](#), [515](#). On the wells and fountains of Athens, [177 n.](#) On the Horologium of Andronicus, [190](#). On the materials of

- the Astic walls, 436 *n.* On hypæthral temples, 562.
- Vlakhi, or Wallachians of Mount Pindus, 67, 77.
- Volaterræ, Pelasgic city, 455.
- Vouriéni, river (Asopus), ii. 112.
- Vraná, village of the Marathonians, ii. 78. Vestiges of antiquity near, 80, 81, 84, 98, 102. Site of the ancient Marathon, 89, 90. Torrent of, 102.
- Vraóna, river of, ii. 10, 72. Villages named, 23, 72.
- Vrysáki, creek, ii. 68.
- Vulcan, temple of, or Hephæsteium, 12, 120, 153, 252, 255, 256. Intoxicated by Bacchus, releases Juno, picture in the Lenæum, 138. His contest with Clytius, sculpture in the Theseium, 509. V. and Prometheus, sculpture of, in the Academy, 600. Temple of, at Hephæstia, ii. 42. Festival of, called Χαλκεία, 42 *n.* Worship of, in Attica, 44.
- Vulci, vases and antiquities of, 453, 454.
- Vunó, village, 175 *n.* Gardens of, ii. 9.
- Walls of Athens. See Asty, Peiræus, Munychia, Phalerum, and Long Walls.
- Water, supply of, at Athens, 177, 203, 283, 292, 524, 583 *n.* At Peiræus, 393.
- Water-clocks, 191, 220.
- Wells of Athens, 177, 393, 525.
- Wheler, Sir George, reference to his travels, 76, 94, 96, 176, 294, 431, 495. Some errors of, 98, 181, 259.
- Wilkins, Mr. William, architect, reference to his opinions, 201 *n.*, 341 *n.*, 342 *n.*, 561 seq.
- Winchelsea, earl of, his visit to Athens in 1675, 94.
- Winds, tower of the, or Horologium of Andronicus, 26, 88, 190.
- Worsley, Sir R., collection of, 261 *n.*
- Wrestler, statue of, by Timænetus in the Propylæa, 144.
- Xanthus, king of Bœotia, his death, ii. 132.
- Xantippus, father of Pericles, 353. His statue in the Acropolis, 151.
- Xenophon, statues of the sons of, 143. Reference to, concerning Anaphlystus, ii. 59.
- Xerxes removes the library of Peisistratus to Persia, 9 *n.* His capture of Athens, and its results, 10, 155, 157, 263, 264, 574 seq. His defeat, 11. Carries away the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, 117. Tent of, 138, 246. His seat, to view the battle of Salamis, ii. 34, 100, 236 seq.
- Ξόανον, 109 *n.*, 146 *n.*, 576.
- Xuthus, son of Hellen and son-in-law of Erechtheus, ii. 77. His sepulchre at Vraná, 98.
- Xypetæones, demus, ii. 14, 34, 35 *n.*, 190, 273.
- Zea, one of the ports of Peiræus, 231, 373—375, 633.
- Zeno, the philosopher, 598.
- Zephyrus, altar of, ii. 136.
- Zeuxis, his picture of Love crowned with roses, 133 *n.* His 'Helena,' 632.
- Ζῶα, 577.
- Zonaras, his account of the Goths at Athens, 51 *n.*
- Zophorus, or frieze, i. 577.
- Zosimus, historian, 51, 54 *n.* A resolute adherent to heathen worship, 53. Offices held by him at Constantinople, 54 *n.*
- Zoster, cape, 631. To Zoster, ii. 52, 54, 60, 273.
- Zygonalás, Theodore, his letters published by Kraus, 89.

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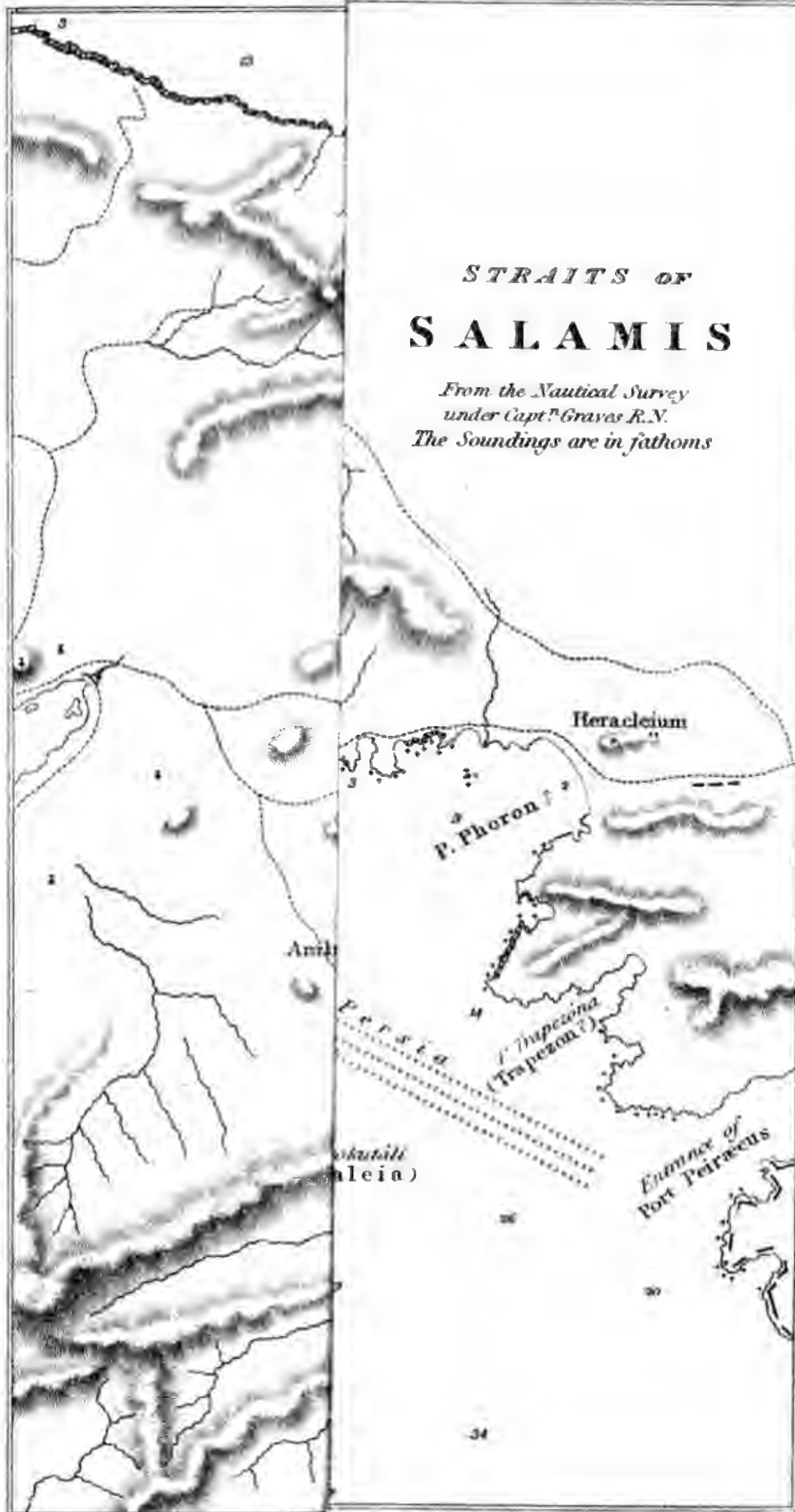
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